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The Peace Corps: Some Observations

Richard M. McKeon, S.J.

ON MAY 27 some 7000 candidates for the Peace Corps took a very long examination in 340 centers throughout the nation. The examination was the first step in screening out the human talents and skills which we shall lend to underdeveloped lands under this new project.

Thus the proposal of President Kennedy for such a corps is gradually becoming a reality. It has also caused a great deal of reaction. The majority of it is favorable. But there is a certain pessimism which claims that the program may do untold harm.

Our citizens should be deeply interested in a sound program which will stir up the heart of our youth to make sacrifices in aiding people far less favored. In an atmosphere which has emphasized personal gain and comfort now comes this daring challenge to assist the weak toward social and economic progress.

As is evident from the first test, every effort must be made to secure members of sound judgment and proven ability for certainly the movement will appeal to the lunatic fringe. Even where candidates offer the best credentials and fulfill the assigned training, many are bound to fail on the front line of action in primitive areas, as past experience has proven in similar ventures.

Recently we heard Sir Charles Arden-Clarke, former governor of Ghana, a man who has had twenty years of experience in Africa, answer a question about his opinion of the Peace Corps. His reply was: "Unless the Peace Corps is composed of the best qualified men, it will do untold damage among native people." When the need of economic and educational help was the issue, he cautioned: "We must not thrust the cup down their throats. We must give the help they need, the way they want it and not in the way we think they should have it."

In early March in his syndicated column Robert C. Ruark was most caustic about the project and said: "But I cannot see the point in spending a single cent to subsidize a grand all-expense adven-

ture for a flock of kids who cannot conceivably know anything close enough to the native level to contribute more than adolescent, misplaced bull-session ideals for world saving or at best an indoctrination in jazz and hot-roddery."

The *Insider's Newsletter*, March 13, was also very severe. "Washington insiders are dubious, even cynical, about prospects for Kennedy's Peace Corps. They figure there won't be enough qualified youngsters in enough places to make a ripple, let alone a splash. For comparison, Peace Corps will accept 500 to 1000 applicants by the end of this year, while Soviet Union has more than 650,000 experts working in underdeveloped countries and hopes to have more than a million by the end of next year. . . .

"Republican leaders . . . expect some youths will create embarrassing incidents abroad; get homesick and criticize the Corps publicly; conflict with State Department and ICA policies. Such incidents will be blown up by the foreign press and exploited unmercifully by Communists."

This last point is certain. Moreover they will try to slander the movement. The members must be well-trained in the philosophy of Communism if they are to refute its claims and to counteract its propaganda.

In many parts of Africa the white man is hated. Where race hatred does not exist, it can be created. The news of race rioting in the South adds oil to the flames. This hatred is part of the drive for nationalization. This attitude may severely limit and even exclude the Peace Corps from functioning. As one authority has said: "It is a sentimental illusion to assume that Africans are basically the same kind of people we are, that they just happened to have been deprived of advanced civilization and will readily take to Western economic and political institutions if they have the chance. The truth is that the gulf between their values and ours, their lives and ours, is all but unbridgeable."

The Peace Corps and Cooperative Spirit

There will be similar barriers in Latin America and Asia. But these barriers have been overcome by mature organizations. In particular we note

REV. RICHARD M. MCKEON, S.J., is a frequent contributor to *SJR*. He is currently teaching economics at the School of Industrial Relations, Le Moyne College, Syracuse, N.Y.

the great work of the Antigonish Movement as carried out by the Coady International Institute at St. Francis Xavier University, Antigonish, Nova Scotia. Here is a social and economic program which has done wonders not only in the Maritime Provinces but in many parts of the world.

Accordingly, as the Peace Corps develops, it would be very wise for the authorities to visit Antigonish and to study the movement. It has a program suited to the underdeveloped countries which deserves imitation. To ignore its wisdom and experience would be a grave mistake.

"It is a program of self-help and mutual help. It takes people where they are, even the illiterate, and leads them to the highest possible level of human performance. It is inexpensive and easily applicable to large numbers of people over wide areas.... It is a program of adult education that begins in the economic field, fans out into every phase of human activity, and brings new life into distressed areas."

At present the Coady Institute is giving special courses to students from India, Uganda, Egypt, Burma, Viet Nam and several sectors of the Caribbean. On the campus Moslems, Jews, Buddhists and Christians mingle together in earnest discussion. They will return to their countries well-trained to help their fellow-people help themselves. Moreover specialists from the Institute have accomplished great things in Puerto Rico, India, Fiji Islands, the British West Indies and elsewhere.

On a visit to Antigonish in 1955 this writer recalls his interviews with Dr. Moses M. Coady, the great man of social vision after whom the Institute is rightly named. He maintained that, if the principles and techniques of the Antigonish Movement had been adopted by the agencies of the Colombo Plan and Point Four Program, greater results would have been done in a shorter time and with more stable success. We are equally convinced that the Peace Corps will gain by seeking cooperation from a source where cooperation is a philosophy of life.

The cooperative movement is a practical application of the principle of brotherly love. It brings forth a spirit of self-sacrifice and teamwork. It makes one forget about lip-service to democracy and enables the individual to develop a sense of responsibility, self-respect and reliance which will be profitable both for himself and society. Cooperation gives to many a voice in

matters of economic interest and creates a realization of strength and mutual aid.

But it is false to look upon the movement as merely an economic one. The social values are equally as important. In a report from Nova Scotia we read: "One of the chief values of the cooperative movement lies in the opportunity it gives the average citizen to function as a conscious agent in shaping his economic life and welfare. He works with others for a common and mutual good. Day by day he learns that by cooperating with others he serves himself best. He respects leadership because he sees how it must develop. He acquires a stature as a citizen in political and economic relations with his fellowman."

The Peace Corps and Credit Unions

We trust that the program of the Peace Corps likewise will include a thorough training in the principles of the credit union movement. Otherwise a most powerful weapon to combat poverty will be lost.

The Credit Union National Association with headquarters at Madison, Wisconsin, is ready to assist in the formation of credit unions wherever possible. In its 1960 handbook is noted the importance of credit unions in developing countries: "Credit unions provide the first opportunity for personal saving in many parts of the world. This in turn produces capital for individuals to borrow for small-scale enterprises. Widespread poverty breeds discouragement, and the fact that people of very limited means can save is usually not recognized until credit unions succeed. The people are given hope, and they branch out in other self-help enterprises. Perhaps most important is the experience in practical democracy which results from the opportunity to own and operate their credit unions."

It is evident, then, that the task of the director, R. Sargent Shriver, Jr., will not be easy. He needs the best advice and assistance from the proper government and private agencies. He knows the need of well-qualified applicants. In his testimony before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, March 21, he said: "The training program might be likened to the boot camp in the Navy or the Army, and we intend or expect... to have a substantial number of people washed out during the training period... Work in the Peace Corps might be more dangerous than ser-

vice in the Army, Navy and the Air Force. It is possible that there would be more danger serving in the hinterlands, let us say, of some countries in the world as a civilian . . . than there is in being assigned to a base in Germany or France or England or even in our country."

Rightly did an editorial in *Business Week*, March 11, warn: "The Peace Corps, to a large extent, should be a public relations weapon—and recognized as such. It could help correct the distorted image of America that has been built up in many parts of the world. This image has been fostered not so much by lazy, high-spending Americans abroad as by men filled with good intentions who lacked the right methods and understanding to carry them out."

Private Organizations and Lay Missionary Groups

President Kennedy has seen the need of cooperating with private organizations in the program of the Peace Corps. He said: "Because one of the greatest resources of a free society is the strength and diversity of its private organizations and institutions, much of the Peace Corps program will be carried out by these groups, financially assisted by the Federal Government."

Accordingly Peace Corps personnel will be made available to countries seeking help through private voluntary agencies carrying on international assistance programs; overseas programs of colleges and universities; assistance programs of international agencies; assistance programs of the United States Government; new programs which the Peace Corps will administer.

At present there are about ten Catholic lay missionary groups with an overseas program. The new Papal Volunteers for Latin America has established a central training institute. Its six great areas of action will be: 1) the development of new clergy and religious; 2) the construction of a religious educational program; 3) the strengthening of Catholic education; 4) the implementation of an adequate Catholic religious and socio-economic program; 5) an emphasis on a stronger place for the Church in radio, press and cinema; 6) a substantial increase in the role of the lay apostolate. The address of the Papal Volunteers is 720 North Rush Street, Chicago 11, Ill.

The appointment of Father John J. Considine, M.M., to the National Advisory Council for the

Peace Corps, assures the proper liaison with Catholic groups. He has stated that "the corps wants to help, not replace, private agencies which are doing an excellent job in this field . . . and that the government not merely permits cooperation by Catholic groups, but strongly urges qualified religious groups to participate actively to ensure the success of the general movement."

Three reports have recently come to our attention to support the claim that youth will respond to a noble challenge as set forth in the Peace Corps and other programs. A report from Alaska tells of the work of the Catholic college graduates who are sponsored by the Lay Apostolate Mission Board. About forty graduates aiding in the mission schools come from Gonzaga University, Spokane, Washington.

The second report states the success of the program of aid to underdeveloped countries started by the German Bishops in 1959. Already many social workers, craftsmen, teachers, technicians and so on have volunteered their services. An ever-increasing number is active in foreign lands. They have been carefully selected and trained in the political, cultural, religious and economic background of the country where each is working.

Finally we read that about ten years ago the Philippine Rural Reconstruction Movement sought out college graduates who would be willing to assist in combating poverty in backward areas. "PRRM was founded to combat the ills of rural life—poverty, disease, illiteracy, public apathy—through an integrated program aimed at improving vocational skills, health conditions, education and civic responsibility. In typical areas PRRM projects have raised family income three times above the national average, and have increased the literacy rate by upwards of 20 per cent."

The simple principles which are posted in all their offices might well be taken to heart by all members of the Peace Corps. They read: "Go to the people. Live among them. Learn from them. Love them. Serve them. Plan with them. Start with what they know. Build on what they have."

These observations are offered in the hope that the Peace Corps and similar organizations may be constructive instruments of social justice. No matter where he volunteers the Catholic layman should be filled with a burning zeal not only to improve the material lot of those in need but also to seek to win their souls to God.

Freedom For Laos

Francis J. Corley, S.J.

LAOS IS A QUIET, completely land-locked little kingdom, part of the former French colony of Indo-China. Its 89,000 square miles of territory lie along the east bank of the mighty Mekong river in Southeast Asia and range eastward from that river in rugged, mountainous country scored by numerous river valleys dropping down to the Mekong. Its principal population are the Lao, a race related to the Thais, from whom Thailand gets its name, and to the Shans of Burma. The total population of the country is somewhere between two and four million.

Laos has two capitals, Luang Prabang, where the king lives, and Vientiane, where the government resides and operates. Laos might just as easily have three or four capitals because at various times two other cities were also capitals of minor kingdoms, Bassac and Chieng Kwan. The latter, which appears most frequently in the American press in the unpronounceable French orthography as Xieng Khouang, is actually the proclaimed "capital" of a rebel group in Laos at the present time.

If Laos could settle down to quiet, steady life, building a government and slowly improving its economy, it could become a pleasant secondary state in Southeast Asia, and its gentle people deserve the opportunity to make just that effort. Unfortunately, the circumstances of internal political dissension and the external fact of a gigantic struggle between Communism and freedom make this exceedingly difficult in the immediate future.

Put in its simplest terms, the internal struggle concerns leadership in government, but it is complicated by the fact that one of the stronger groups is closely linked with the Communist governments of North Viet-Nam and China and has consistently received Red support in the immediate past.

The external problem, also put in its simplest terms, stems from the fact that Laos is the weakest point of the free world along the borders of Red China and consequently is subject to enor-

mous expansive pressures that threaten its free existence.

But neither problem is as simple as all that, and each will require a good deal of explanation if it is to be intelligible to Americans.

The Struggle for Power

During World War II Japanese forces occupied all of Indo-China, but until almost the end of the war they permitted French authorities, associated with the Vichy government, to handle the administration of the country. Lao leaders were encouraged by Japanese authorities to work for their own independence, and three princes, all nephews of the king of Laos at the time—and all three of them half-brothers—founded an organization called "Free Laos" (Lao Issara). The three succeeded in building a free country. The eldest of the three half-brothers, Prince Petsarath, retired soon after from politics and died in October, 1959, but the other two, Suvanna Phuma and Souphana Vong, are today right in the middle of Laos' troubled politics.

Communists, particularly from Viet-Nam and China, offered help to the Lao nationalists, and, while Petsarath and Suvanna Phuma kept themselves clear of Red entanglements, Souphana Vong showed himself quite willing to work with them, induced, it was rumored, by his Vietnamese wife who is reported to be a Communist. Souphana broke with his two half-brothers and organized a guerilla force with Viet-Minh Communist help, taking as the name for his new force Pathet Lao (Land of Laos).

After termination of the Geneva Conference of 1954 (which split Viet-Nam into two halves, Communist and free, and gave complete independence to Cambodia and Laos) Souphana continued his guerilla warfare, now against a Lao government to which his half-brother, Suvanna Phuma was loyal, and illegally held two provinces of Laos in his power. For three miserable years the situation dragged on, with the Red forces and the Royal government alternately negotiating and fighting—indeed, often doing both simultaneously. During this period Suvanna Phuma generally acted as intermediary in negotiations be-

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tween the government and the insurrectionists, growing in political stature and prominence in the process. As older political leaders died off, Suvanna increasingly stood out as the foremost governmental figure in the country. Finally, in November, 1957, an agreement was hammered out that seemed to end the split in Laos.

The agreement brought to power a new government headed by Suvanna Phuma in which his half-brother and another Red-leaning colleague held portfolios. The accord directed that the Red guerillas were to be integrated into the Royal Lao army, and that the two provinces illegally held by the Pathet Lao were to be returned to government control. In less than a year, however, moderate leaders in Vientiane were sufficiently roused by Red activities to demand Souphana Vong's ouster from the government. The two half-brothers went together, and a completely new government was formed, which later won a surprisingly strong victory in elections held in May, 1960, elections which many informed persons consider to have been rigged by anti-Communist groups.

This government, in turn, was overthrown in August of that year by the pocket-sized *coup d'état* which the now famous Capt. Kong Le headed. Soon after the *coup*, Kong Le turned over the civil government to Suvanna Phuma; at about the same time Souphana Vong and a baker's dozen of his Red associates escaped from the light arrest under which they were held and rushed into the jungle to reorganize their guerilla body. Moderate forces in the country refused to recognize the new government to which both the king and the Lao parliament, they said, were forced to assent, and a civil war "Lao style" ensued. Prince Suvanna Phuma soon fled to Cambodia, and a moderate leader, Prince Boun Oum, was designated premier by king and parliament.

Meantime, the Red guerillas, reinforced by Capt. Kong Le's deserters from the Royal Lao army and, it is constantly rumored, by contingents from North Viet-Nam and China, waged a vigorous fight from the high Laos hinterlands, swooping down upon lightly protected towns and gradually extending their areas of control until a tenuous cease-fire was agreed upon in May of this year.

This, in rough outline, is the story of Laos' internal troubles, an endlessly repeated tale of political rivals and their struggles for power. It

would be an ugly and cruel enough trial for somnolent Laos, even if it were not aggravated and embittered by outside influences, but it would, at least, be something that Laos might be able to handle and for which it was solely responsible. But foreign interests and ambitions have not only sharpened domestic alienations; they have gone far toward taking control of the future entirely out of the hands of either the Lao people or their leaders. Red China covets and desperately needs the land, the resources, and the immensely important strategic position which Southeast Asia holds. And Laos is the door-mat which China must step on and cross to seize these treasures.

Why Laos is Strategic

Why should Laos be the door-mat? The answer to this question involves two considerations, one long-range, the other short-range. It will be simplest to examine the long-range consideration first.

The normal invasion route from China into Southeast Asia moves along a narrow strip of coastal plain in Viet-Nam between the mountainous backbone of Indo-China and the shore of the South China Sea. If you take out a map of Asia and draw a line southward from China along the coast, you will be marking the course followed for ten millenia by the movement of humanity as it spread across the world. This is the route China would like to follow today.

But across this route has been erected a strong barrier, the state of free Viet-Nam, headed by that country's courageous president, Mr. Ngo Dinh Diem. This government cannot be bluffed out of the way, and a frontal attack upon free Viet-Nam threatens the grave possibility of a major war.

Rather than take this risk, Red China and Communist Viet-Nam have chosen to test the less satisfactory route that is guarded by a weaker, less stable government: Laos. An additional reason for the attempt against Laos is very obviously the fact that there is a small Communist force, a third front, within the country which can be used as an excuse for subversion.

Even though the terrain of Laos makes it a difficult invasion route, its dangerously strategic position still is attractive to an invading force. Laos is shaped like a gigantic funnel, its large opening against the southern border of Red China, its long, thin neck extending southward,

wedged between Thailand and Viet-Nam and opening onto Cambodia, which is directly south. If Laos were completely in Red hands, it would serve perfectly as a funnel to channel the flow of insurrectionists down onto the mainland of Southeast Asia with the greatest ease. Thailand, Cambodia, Viet-Nam and, more remotely, Malaya and Burma are threatened by the present Red movement into Laos. This is the Red's long-range objective.

The short-range objective of Communist subversion in Laos is directed exclusively against free Viet-Nam. We can see this danger actualized in the enormous increase in guerilla activity in South Viet-Nam in recent months. As long as Laos was firmly in the control of moderates, it was extremely difficult for Red infiltrators to move from the north to the south of Viet-Nam. The partition line between the two halves of the country extends just over forty miles across its narrow waist, and most of the boundary is an easily patrolled river. Few guerillas could be smuggled across by this route. But South Viet-Nam has almost 300 miles of mountainous, jungle border in common with Laos. The present unsettled conditions in Laos make it possible for fighters to enter that country from the Communist north of Viet-Nam, travel south in Laos to points below the partition line, and enter the free half through the impossible-to-patrol mountain jungle. The short-range objective of Red efforts in Laos is to keep open an invasion route for attacks against free South Viet-Nam. If this attack should succeed, two routes for further advance would be open to the Reds: both Laos and Viet-Nam.

The U.S.S.R., Red China, and Red Viet-Nam have always supported Prince Souphana Vong, their firmest ally in Laos. Recently they also vigorously backed Suvanna Phuma, claiming that his is the only legitimate government in the country. As the crisis in Laos worsened last year, Suvanna Phuma took the grave step of establishing diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and accepting supplies and military aid air-lifted to the Red headquarters at Chieng Kwan. Although Laos maintains diplomatic relations neither with Red China nor with North Viet-Nam, Suvanna has had frequent dealings with leaders in both countries. He has their backing as the man to head the neutralist government expected to come out of the present Geneva Conference.

U. S.'s Position in Laos

The United States is also involved in the Laos crisis. This country is committed by a protocol to the SEATO agreement to the defense of Laos (as well as free Viet-Nam and Cambodia) in the event of Communist attack, and our prestige is deeply involved by the support we have given Laos since 1954. Yet after six years of effort, we find the situation there worse than it has ever been before. Critics of American diplomatic and assistance efforts in Laos have been harsh in their charges of incompetence against both programs and altogether gloomy in their predictions about the future.

Robert S. Elegant, *Newsweek's* chief in Southeast Asia, stated his opinion recently in the *New Leader*: "... the U.S. has made a series of opportunistic overestimations of its ability to transform Laos into an anti-Communist bastion, without any apparent thought of North Vietnamese or Chinese reactions. At this point, only a string of miracles can prevent the kingdom's becoming a Communist stronghold."

This view of the situation has been echoed by most of the observers who have written about Laos in recent months. They may differ in the vigor of their charges against U.S. operations and about the likelihood of a complete Communist takeover in Laos, but in general they recognize the fact of a grave diplomatic and military loss and the grim prospects for Laos and the free world.

I shall return to this question after reviewing the present diplomatic situation. The fighting that went on in Laos throughout the spring was more or less completely stopped by a cease-fire more or less honored since that time. Since mid-May two conversations have been dragging on interminably, one in Geneva among representatives of thirteen nations: Cambodia, North and South Viet-Nam, Thailand, Burma, and Red China (all immediate neighbors of Laos), India, Canada, Poland (the three members of the International Control Commission designated to supervise the cease-fire), the U.S., the U.K., France, and the U.S.S.R. The fourteenth nation that should be in attendance is Laos itself. Laos has sent no delegation because the second conversation, presently going on in that country, has come to no agreement about a "Government of National Unity" to designate its representative.

The Geneva talks have been filled with charges and counter-charges, the most recent being that

there are Nationalist Chinese troops in Laos. This accusation by Red China has been rejected by the control commission and is completely discredited. It is based solely upon the fact that when China fell to the Communists in 1950, elements of the Nationalist army fled into Burma to escape surrender. These troops caused untold annoyance and some damage in Burma until most of them were evacuated to Taiwan about a year ago. Remnants, however, married and settled down as impoverished farmers growing rice or opium in remote areas of Burma, Thailand, and Laos. No one seriously claims that there are foreign troops in Laos fighting on the Royal Lao side.

Far more serious charges have been brought against both Red China and North Viet-Nam. Recently the chief of the U.S. mission, Mr. W. Averill Harriman, challenged both Red parties to give figures on the numbers of their nationals in Laos.

Meantime, three Lao leaders, Boun Oum (the present legitimate head of government), Suvanna Phuma (the man recognized by the Communists as head), and Souphana Vong, are haggling over the composition of a new government. The discussions have been tortuous in the extreme. At the end of almost a full month, including intensive discussions (Lao style) at Zurich, Switzerland, the three men reached agreement that the king of Laos, Savang Vathana, should appoint a coalition government. After this decision, conversations were continued, both in Switzerland and Laos.

The Hope for Freedom

On August 15, almost three months after discussions began, a name was introduced into the meetings. Prince Souphana Vong finally announced at that time that he would accept no government that was not headed by his half-brother, Prince Suvanna Phuma. And it is quite possible that no other name will ever be mentioned (although Boun Oum has pointed out the impropriety of restricting the king's freedom by submitting to him for appointment a "list" containing only one name). Suvanna Phuma is the logical man for the job. And precisely there lies the hope for freedom.

No one who has the welfare of Laos—and of humanity—at heart (and the two goals are not so discreet at the moment as one might think) could pick any other political personage to head

a government for Laos at the present time. The only possible alternate is the unlikely decision by King Savang Vathana to follow the example of his neighbor in Cambodia, Norodom Sihanouk, and head a government himself.

Failing this, Suvanna Phuma is the man. Not only is he the only person acceptable to the Reds; he is also the most prominent, the most likely Laotian to be able to reconcile estranged groups, and probably the ablest leader in the country at present.

When the haggling in Laos and Geneva is ended, the government in that country will be much weaker in terms of personnel devoted to freedom and much stronger in terms of personnel devoted to Communism than ever before. This represents a grave loss for Laos, for Southeast Asia, and for peace. Four years ago Laos had a government with Suvanna Phuma at the helm and two Red-leaning ministers (one of them Souphana Vong) in his cabinet. The U.S. was restive working with this team and openly welcomed a political revolt that drove this government out of office. Looking back at that situation now, we can say that if the U.S. had worked diligently at making a go of the situation, Laos (and the entire world) might be better off today than it is.

The U.S. will, in all likelihood, soon be faced with a more delicate situation than that of 1957. Because of events of the past four years, Suvanna Phuma has been alienated from the free world—and the free world from him. The fact that he is approved by the Reds, that he has sponsored his Red-leaning brother and has, in turn, been sponsored by him must not induce the free world to oppose him. He is, in ability, in prestige, and in general acceptability, the logical man for the job.

And his friendship must be won back. This does not mean that we should undertake to persuade him to swing to pro-Western positions. If we can convince Suvanna Phuma that we accept a policy of genuine neutrality, we will have partially recouped a grave loss. Unquestionably this involves risk for Laos and for freedom. With Communists in the government and the army, the odds that Laos will eventually be lost are high. But aside from King Savang Vathana and Suvanna Phuma there are no odds at all; Laos is lost.

The free world must establish and maintain the posture that it will be (as it has been actually,

(Continued on page 165)

Objections to Government Aid to Parochial Schools Answered

Daniel D. McGarry, Ph.D.

VARIOUS OBJECTIONS are often urged against public aid to independent schools. Included are the arguments that such aid would endanger public education, fragmentize education, entail additional expense to the public, mean government control of private education, offend our fellow-citizens, or, at any rate, that it would be impossible to obtain. Let us examine some of these objections.

No Danger to Public Education

It is sometimes argued that if we allow aid to private schools, public education will be endangered and American education will become fragmentized. Yet it is not public education which is now in imminent danger: it is the private schools that are in mortal peril. Would the colossus of public education, costing annually 16 billion dollars (with no danger of this lessening), be endangered by conceding, for example, less than $\frac{1}{2}$ of 1% assistance or 140 million dollars to independent school children as opposed to 100% assistance of 16 billion dollars annually to public school children? Instead of such economic assistance to private schools detracting from public schools, this aid should stimulate public education and thus further improve their standards by the continued coexistence and competition of independent schools.

The giant of public school education is not going to collapse simply because we take steps to allow the smaller individual known as private education to continue. Who, except those already footing the expenses of private school education for personal reasons, can be expected to establish

new private schools simply because they would receive governmental aid which could only represent a small fraction of their total educational costs? Who would assume a financial obligation amounting to \$400 or more a year simply to receive something like \$15 to \$20, which would be only 4 or 5% of the actual cost? Consequently, most of those who do not at present operate their own schools would not be inclined to establish one, since they would still have to subsidize such education with approximately the same amount that is at present being paid by other patrons of private education.

If we mean by "fragmentalized" simply "differentiated" or "diversified," or, in other words, "pluralistic" and "not monolithic," then we must answer that we live in the "democratic" way. We live in what is known as a "pluralistic" society. The essence of democracy is to allow legitimate diversity, and not to impose governmentally enforced uniformity. Especially is this the case where fundamental rights are involved. Those who would push such an argument to its logical conclusions would have to demand that there be only one form of government in our country: the federal; one political party: the Democratic or Republican; and one manner for providing for the needs of the unemployed, disabled and aged: in public institutions.

Not an Expense but a Saving

Another argument is that if such aid is allowed, educations will become more expensive to the public. Actually the contrary is the case. The government would be, in effect, making a very small investment, providing a very small "hand-out," in order to save a much larger sum. It would continue to save taxpayers billions of dollars by helping to insure the continued existence and welfare of privately supported education. For the aid it would give would be nothing like what it would cost *per capita* to maintain these children in public schools. Nor could such aid ever conceivably be greater than even the supplemental assistance given the latter.

No Government Control

A frequent objection used to be and often still is: If the government contributes in any fashion to the support of children attending independent schools, it will come to control these schools, and thus destroy their reason for existence; for control of the purse-strings confers the power to dictate. This is undoubtedly a strong point. We

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would all like to believe ourselves independent of our fellow-citizens and free of governmental controls, but such is not the case. The government already contributes to the support of independent schools by allowing them such things as police and fire-protection, exemption from taxation, etc. Why? Because it recognizes that they are rendering a public service. And the government also controls private schools in many other ways. Thus it lays down requirements as to the annual time for classes, qualifications of instructional personnel, construction standards, safety-facilities in school-buildings, accreditation of graduates at state institutions, and the like. The regulatory power of the state with regard to educational institutions is generally conceded. While parents have a primary right to direct the education of their children, the state also has a secondary right to supervise that education, to require that it measure up to certain standards, and to supply the deficiency if the parents fail adequately to educate their children.

Whether we like it or not, we are always dependent on the continued good will and fairness of our fellow citizens in a democracy. That is to say, we are dependent upon the natural beliefs of what is good, true, just and humanitarian on the part of our fellow citizens. These beliefs were providentially implanted by God in the human race. To take any other attitude would be for a human being to regard his own natural goodness as superior to that of his neighbor's and to look upon all his fellow-men as enemies upon whom he must wage an unceasing war for survival. Trust in the goodness of our fellow citizens has not failed us in the past, and it is safe to say that it will not fail us in the future.

The amount of aid contemplated would not be enough to threaten governmental control, and would have built-in provisions to obviate the same. Why would the government control private schools simply because it contributed a fraction of their total expense? Furthermore, we must distinguish between supervision and control, and between control in non-essentials, such as total class-time per year. We even have some control in common essentials such as the requirement of courses in English, American History, and Civics. It is only with respect to certain non-essentials and disputed essentials, upon which there is no common agreement, such as teaching methods and instruction in religion, that we do not have and do not want control. It is only here that we

wish to preserve our freedom. It is inconceivable that a government would want to have control of these private prerogatives in a truly democratic society. Furthermore, if the majority of people were seriously determined to obtain control of them in a democracy they could do so independently of who was hitherto footing the bills or to what extent.

The GI Bills, National Defense Acts, and other federal legislation helping private schools indirectly did not result in federal control of private institutions of higher learning. Nor were they really governmental subsidization of the latter. The government simply contracted for a product—education—beneficial to both the public and the individual, allowing the latter to attend the institution of his choice, where said non-profit institution provided the product without final financial gain and usually at some additional expense to itself. The institutions did not for that reason unduly fall under the control of the government in any way that hindered their essential operations.

It may be added that in the case of private institutions it is "to be or not to be" that is becoming "the question." And "to be" is much better than "not to be": existence is far preferable to non-existence. Assuredly one is freer alive than dead, and the same is true of institutions. It may also be added that most public school districts would not be in favor of federal aid if this meant extensive federal control.

Not Offensive to Our Fellow-Citizens

There are some who say that if we ask for a share in our tax-moneys for the support of our parent-operated schools our fellow citizens will be offended and that we may spoil the developing "dialogue" between them and us. This is a worthy objection, and if the issue were less important and the danger to our schools less imminent, it would certainly bear more weight. But at present we have to consider the clear and greatest good of our children's education and welfare as against the uncertain and indeterminate reaction of our fellow citizens. We have to take this risk in order to insure the survival and welfare of our schools. Especially is this true since it is uncertain as to what will be the reaction of the majority of our fellow citizens. Of course there are some who assert that our schools are un-American and divisive, and aid to them unconstitutional. But they will find it impossible

clearly to demonstrate any of these claims. Who will blame us for trying to get what we believe to be rightfully ours and for striving to promote the education of our children? Do not parents whose children attend public schools do the same? Is anyone going to admire us the more because we allow our schools to wither on the vine for want of a little effort to obtain a bit of reasonable governmental aid? Is anyone going to believe that we are really convinced of the value of our form of education if we are unwilling to exert ourselves and expose ourselves to criticism for its continuation?

Do we not have a golden opportunity to explain to our fellow citizens how important is our way of education, including the religious and moral training of our children, and why we cling to it despite the sacrifices and difficulties involved? Especially if we do so in a deservedly mild and moderate manner? Is it not an insult to the intelligence and fairness of our fellow citizens to conclude beforehand that they must necessarily fail to appreciate what we consider right and just, and resent our efforts to obtain a share in our own tax-moneys for our children?

The Responsibility of Government

In our "new dialogue," we must make clear to our fellow-citizens that we do not hold them responsible for our present embarrassment or consider them guilty of any injustice. Times are changing, and with new times comes the inevitable need for new adjustments to avoid injustices and to maintain rights. The situation was never before as critical for private education and the question of inclusion in state-aid was never as serious as it has now become. Multiplication of the cost of public education fifty times *per capita* in less than a century has changed the situation. So also has the fact of our government now appropriating for expenditures and redistribution over one-third the national income. Nor is it any guarantee that the end is in sight; in fact the probabilities are otherwise.

If our government chooses to take from a third to a half of our income, it simultaneously assumes new responsibilities, including the obligation to see that the exercise of constitutional rights continues to be feasible. If we become more socialized in the name of democracy, we must also be careful to preserve our freedoms and our very democracy in the process. To replace the guarantees of individual freedom formerly provided by less vulnerable private property, our government must now allow greater individual freedom to those to whom it increasingly dispenses its benefits, benefits originally derived from these very beneficiaries.

The Possibility of Aid

Another objection against asking for governmental assistance for independent schools is that our request will never receive favorable consideration and has no chance of success. It is argued that the case is quite impossible and hopeless. Yet if aid to independent (and parochial) schools is allowed as a matter of course in so many other democracies which are Protestant countries, such as England, Scotland, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the Netherlands, West Germany, and others, why must it be considered an impossibility in our own country? Actually, European countries have shown us the way in many progressive developments, such as social legislation providing insurance for incapacity, unemployment, and old age; why not also in aid to private schools?

What is right and just and beneficial cannot be impossible. If we think it is, we are underestimating the fairness and good will of our fellow citizens. Did the labor unions years ago admit that it was impossible when they began their long uphill fight to obtain rights of collective bargaining? Or did the Negroes when they began their struggle to obtain their civil rights? Finally, should those who want to continue to give their children the kind of education they think they need despair of public recognition, especially when such recognition is necessary to allow them to exercise their constitutional rights?

Warder's Review

More Profit Sharing?

SEVERAL YEARS AGO Mr. Walter Reuther, president of the United Automobile Workers, was turned down by the automobile manufacturers when he requested that they open their books so that the "ability to pay" principle could be applied to wage negotiations. Recently American Motors, perhaps to the dismay of Mr. Reuther, agreed to open their books but not for the purpose of negotiating wages but rather to establish a profit-sharing plan for the workers. A contract incorporating profit-sharing provisions was approved after a comparatively short period of negotiation. Mr. Reuther now has the leverage of a precedent which he may or may not be able to capitalize on in persuading the other auto makers to adopt profit-sharing plans. The broader significance, however, of the American Motors-UAW agreement is the influence that it may have in encouraging the adoption of profit-sharing in other sectors of American industry.

The profit-sharing idea has been around a long time. In most countries of the West it has been in the forefront of a complex of remedies suggested for the improvement of management-labor relations. Moreover, it has also been the object of heated opposition from the champions of old-line economic liberalism. It was more than a century ago that the Christian Socialists in England and France advanced the profit-sharing idea as an antidote to the Marxian advocacy of the class struggle. Pope Pius XI gave profit-sharing prominence when in his epochal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* he proposed that the contract of work should, in order to further the ends of social justice, be evolved into a contract of partnership so that workers could become "sharers in some way in the ownership or management or profits." Eric Johnston, when he was president of McCormick & Co., a food importing firm in Baltimore, Md., made this incisive comment about the profit-sharing principle after he had installed a plan in this Company: "Socialism aims at the idea that every man will call himself a Socialist. It ought to be our aim to make it possible for every man to call himself a capitalist."

An obstacle to a more general acceptance of profit-sharing has been the prevalence of mis-

understanding regarding what profit-sharing is. Like credit unions or cooperatives, education is essential to the development of the profit-sharing idea. The American Profit-Sharing Institute has endeavored since the 1930's to clarify and publicize profit-sharing, but there are still many people who associate the resemblance of bonus plans, stock distribution, pensions, annuities and even fringe benefits with actual profit-sharing. In rudimentary terms, profit-sharing plans are designed to provide workers with an agreed upon share in the net income of the company after specified percentage allowances have been allocated for the maintenance and expansion of capital resources and dividends to shareholders. It is important to emphasize that the workers' share in the profits must be considered as separate and apart from their receipt of a going, prevailing wage and not as a mere padding for substandard pay. Through profit-sharing workers become participants in the profitability of a business enterprise because their cooperative efforts in unison with management and the providers of capital have helped to make these profits possible. Authentic profit-sharing plans will by definition exhibit these general features but their specific form of organization or administration will vary in different types of business enterprise.

In the late thirties there was a vigorous upturn of interest in profit-sharing plans as an instrument of industrial peace. In 1938 the late Senator Vandenberg, Republican from Michigan, submitted a bill calling for the study of profit-sharing plans and a consideration of the feasibility of making tax incentives available to companies that would adopt profit-sharing programs. A similar proposal was offered by Republican Senator Knowland of California and Republican Representative Claire Boothe Luce of Connecticut in 1946. No specific legislation emerged from these proposals and it is most fortunate that profit-sharing was left to stand on its own merits without the intrusion of federal tax incentives. The hearings, however, did disclose some quite useful information about the nature, scope and public attitude toward profit-sharing at that time. Most of the big union leaders were outspoken in their opposition and expressed apprehension about profit-sharing as a possible cover-up by manage-

ment for the introduction of speed-up systems or for the imposition of unfair wage rates. John L. Lewis called the idea "a snare and a delusion," as he argued that workers could best satisfy their needs through bargaining for higher wages. Union leaders were less outspoken in admitting their fear that workers through sharing in profits might become less dependent on their leaders for benefits since they would be more inclined to cooperate with their companies in order to maximize the profits from which they would derive a share. There is evidence today that labor leaders have relaxed somewhat in their stiffnecked resistance to profit-sharing, which the rank and file of union members have always seemed to look upon with favor.

Although the vast majority of the spokesmen from management seem to endorse profit-sharing, there were and there still are a few who cling to the outmoded unjust concept that labor, like a commodity, is to be bought at the market price and has no claim whatsoever on profits. Others contend that profit-sharing might work when there are profits but it will break down when companies face losses. This argument is discounted by the success that so many companies have had in maintaining their profit-sharing plans despite periods of adverse business conditions. It is true though that most of the companies that have dropped profit-sharing have done so as a result of depressed economic conditions. Still if workers are brought to understand clearly that wage rates are not affected by profit-sharing and are informed properly concerning the inevitable fluctuation in business this difficulty is resolvable.

The profit-sharing idea has made progress in this country during the past two decades. While it seems to work best in the smaller organizations it has also scored considerable success in larger companies such as Proctor and Gamble, Sears and Roebuck, Eastman Kodak and Emerson Electric. Most studies of companies with sound profit-sharing plans indicate that profit-sharing has tended to reduce both featherbedding and labor disputes and increased profits as a result of a more cooperative spirit that arises between management and labor.

By becoming a profit-sharer the worker looks not only at increased wages but at higher profits for the enterprise as a whole, and thereby becomes more closely identified as a partner in the enterprise with the owners and the managers of capital. Profit-sharing plans are certainly not a panacea for solving all labor-management problems but they can be a significant step in the direction of "moderating the contract of work by one of partnership," as Pope Pius XI recommends in *Quadragesimo Anno*. Moreover, profit-sharing can create the foundations for a wider cooperation between management and labor in meeting issues regarding production, the relationship of wages, prices and profits and other questions that affect their mutual interest and the common good. In furthering these ends they are drawing closer to fulfilling the aims of "justice and equity" which Pope John XXIII has in his recent encyclical *Mater et Magistra* called for as the proper ruling standard of relationships in economic life.

D. A. L.

Material men make for themselves material escapes, spiritual men make for themselves spiritual escapes. As the worldling has to convince himself that alcohol is only a very fleeting solution to his problem, so the interior man has to convince himself that the only solution which does not give rise to further problems requiring yet more solutions is that of faith.

The problem, for the spiritual man as for the material man, is ultimately that of loneliness. The worldling feels isolated temperamentally and dares not face himself in solitude; the religious man feels all the same obstacles to communication with his fellow human beings, and experi-

ences in addition an inability to reach an understanding with God. Neither can the religious man face himself until he has learned humility at its source.

Once a man's life is ruled by faith instead of by temporary experiments and expedients there can be a balance. Faith gives to a man a focus-point within himself to which everything about him can be referred. When the worldling has acquired this knowledge in faith he is a worldling no longer. When the man of faith has lost it he is a man of faith no longer; he is a worldling. (Dom Hubert Van Zeller, O.S.B., *The Inner Search*)

The Social Apostolate

Theory ————— Procedure ————— Action

Cooperation, Education and Social Reconstruction

THE AUSTRALIAN Antigonish Movement was formed some years ago in an effort to apply the experiment of adult education through economic cooperation to the Australian scene at the Catholic parish level. The first cooperative units formed in interested parishes were credit unions. Their immediate object was to provide for their members' ordinary credit needs. But they were also used to supply capital to other types of cooperative groups which were progressively organized to provide for other needs. Foremost among these latter have been cooperative trading societies; but societies both for home financing and home building have also been developed, and the provision of medical services on a cooperative basis has been undertaken.

The organizing of these societies, including the credit unions, was preceded and accompanied by intensive discussions among members and prospective members. In this way it was possible for individual members to become conversant with the basic principles as well as the practical workings of cooperatives.

As these discussions progressed over a period of years, many members began to grasp the wider social implications of what they were doing. This progress was evident at successive annual conventions of members from the various parishes.

Much time at early conventions was given to the practical problems associated with the establishing and running of cooperatives. But at the most recent convention (Oct., 1960) a developing maturity of outlook was manifest by the greater attention paid in the discussions to the impact of the cooperative movement on the existing social order. For example, it was generally realized that the progressive development of cooperatives to provide for basic family needs was a means of redistributing productive wealth. In this way, people who were largely wage earners and had formerly owned little beyond their labor resources, now found themselves not only with

a tangible ownership in the form of shares, but also with the responsibility that goes with effective control of these productive assets. This effective control is brought about by the application of the principle of "one man one vote," irrespective of the number of shares held.

It was also realized that the wider distribution of ownership with effective control of productive wealth among the proletariat was eminently in harmony with papal pronouncements on the social ills of our time, and the remedies for their solution. In fact, it could be said that the encyclicals *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* were the reference books of the convention.

To summarize: The initial cooperative organization was the credit union established in a given community—the Catholic parish. By means of continuing member education, other assets, owned and controlled by members, have been developed to supply other basic needs which are as important as credit.

By way of contrast, the credit union movement in the U.S., which has developed largely under the auspices of Credit Union National Association, has confined itself almost exclusively to the provision of credit for its members who are more often recruited on an industry rather than a community basis. In addition, no great effort seems to be made to inculcate even the basic principles of cooperation through individual member education. In fact, contact between credit union directors and individual members can be slight, as instanced by the fact that an executive officer of a large industrial credit union in St. Louis, Mo., had to get a commercial credit rating on members applying for a loan.

Finally, it is certainly in order to ask whether a secular organization such as CUNA, would be likely to interpret and implement principles on social reconstruction as outlined in papal documents.

E. N. BROWNE
Binalong, Australia

Youth and Semaines Sociales

Young men are fitter to invent than to judge; fitter for execution than for counsel; and fitter for new projects than for settled business.

FRANCIS BACON
Essays Civil and Moral

SO WROTE THE Lord Verulam in the sixteenth century, and so also concluded the forty-eighth session of the *Semaines Sociales* held last July in Reims, France. The general subject for discussion in the week-long series of seminars was "The Role of Youth in an Affluent Society."

In the *Conclusions* of the *Semaines Sociales*, it is stated that there are values proper to youth, just as there are values proper to infancy and adulthood, and these diverse values play a dynamic part in the growth and stabilization of a community. "Youth must not isolate itself," the report said, "but must confront the present and orient itself to the future, and these actions presuppose an active collaboration between generations."

The *Conclusions* go on to say that youth must reject the Malthusian ideal which sacrifices future generations for the well-being of the present generation, and also reject the Marxian ideal which sacrifices the present generation for the supposed good of future generations. However, the young generations must be prepared to make sacrifices for the preservation of the society in which they live.

Since the young generations must make sacrifices, the older generations must also, and these sacrifices are both temporal and spiritual, for men belong not only to temporal societies, such as the family or the nation, but to a spiritual society known as the Mystical Body of Christ. Reciprocal sacrifices and services constitute the solidarity which exists between man and man, and man and God.

In the economic life, adults must graciously allow younger men to participate in business affairs (limitedly, of course, as befits their capability), thus preventing a possible critical age-gap when elderly businessmen are ready to retire. Youth must also be allowed to participate actively and in collaboration with their adult predecessors

in such things as public works, scholastic research, public hygiene, the planning of cities, and the various socio-cultural activities which form the backbone of a civilized nation.

Another important duty of youth is service in the armed forces. The purpose of the army is to make possible the purpose of the nation: as a soldier, the youth must prepare to defend his nation, if necessary, with his life; and as a citizen, he should understand the true nature of the army as it is related to the state.

On the moral and spiritual level, *la generation adulte* "must entrust to youth the responsibilities which will permit them to serve an apprenticeship in liberty" and not leave them in a state of ineffective abandon, which is the deplorable lot of so many youth today. Also, it is important to help youths to discover the true meaning of the family, and in preparing them for family life, simple "sex education" is woefully insufficient. Preparation must begin at a very early age, and the child should be made to understand all aspects of family life.

The *Semaines Sociales* pointed out that the press, the radio, the cinema, and the adult generation must not deform the general image of youth, branding them as juvenile delinquents or a "generation in revolt." Such distortions are not only unfair to youth, but also make more difficult the entry of youth into the adult world.

Although the *Conclusions* contains much more than is here related, it ended with an imperative directed not to the younger, but to the older generation: "All our assistance to youth will flounder if we do not give them an ideal which will sustain them, give them reason to live and hope. For us, this ideal can only be the Gospel, lived as perfectly as possible for their example. It is useless merely to preach the apostolate of youth; what is of first importance is to study objectively and scrupulously the manner in which the Gospel can best be presented to the youth of today as a radiant force in the life of the Church. The studies which we have made are only sketches. It is necessary to go into the problems much further, in a manner more profound, and very soon."

J. M. H.

Social Review

Russian Nuclear Test Resumption

FOLLOWING THE ANNOUNCEMENT by the U.S. S.R. that it would resume nuclear testing, the *Wall Street Journal* came out in an editorial which warned the U.S. to face up to its destroyers. The article noted that the announcement came just as the Russian delegate in Geneva was passing the day discussing blandly with the U.S. representative the Western proposals for nuclear disarmament.

After years of fruitless talk on the subject, the *Journal* remarked, "we learn that those men, whom Lenin taught that treachery was an instrument of foreign policy, have made good use of their time. On their drawing boards they have—or they say they have—plans for new bombs with the power of a 100,000,000 tons of TNT. The hour having come to test them, they will. They talked only until they were ready. How long does it take us to learn? Up to only yesterday statesmen of the West still talked of how they were going to sit down and talk with the Russians and make them see reason."

The Wall Street paper concluded with a rather stark announcement of its own: "It is terrifying, this world in which we live. But no amount of wishful thinking will alter it. And of one thing we may be sure. It is not a world that will ever belong to the faint-hearted or to fools who will not see it plain."

Religion in Public Schools

THE INTERNATIONAL FEDERATION of Catholic Alumnae celebrated its 47th anniversary in Cincinnati recently, and had for its principal speaker Archbishop Karl J. Alter of Cincinnati. The theme of Archbishop Alter's talk was the religious illiteracy of American public schools. He predicted that in the next fifty years the American people "will demand some new approach to the moral and spiritual training of their children," for the present educational set-up has for its consequence a "slow but inevitable erosion of Christian principles and a concomitant deterioration of morals."

Archbishop Alter went on to say, "In times past, religion was intertwined with both public and domestic life... but the chief agency was always the educational system, whereby the rising generation was indoctrinated

into the culture and the mores which gave stability and continuity of character to our society.

"Things have radically changed. Public life has become secular to a degree never known before.... For more than 100 years there has been a progressive diminution of religious influence and instruction in our system of public education, on both the lower and the higher levels."

He admitted that the solution presented extraordinary difficulties, but added that the difficulties only accentuated the problem. He expressed confidence that Catholic intellectuals will be deeply interested and will generously cooperate in devising a system that will meet the needs of a pluralistic society, with fairness and justice to all.

Migrant Farm Labor Aids

THE SENATE HAS passed five bills to protect migrant farm workers against exploitation, curb child labor on farms and help educate the children of migrants. A report contained in the *AFL-CIO News* said also that there was an expected battle ahead in the Senate over extension of the Mexican contract farm labor program. Both labor and the Administration have contended that the importation of large numbers of contract workers has lowered wages and reduced job opportunities for domestic farm workers.

The crew leader registration bill, the *News* reported, would regulate the activities of middlemen who contract with growers to provide farm workers and who arrange for pay, transportation and living facilities. Crew leaders would be required to carry public liability insurance on vehicles and would be held responsible for deducting and transmitting social security taxes.

Other bills provide: 1) A five year program of federal aid to states to improve educational opportunities for migrant workers and their families. The program, which would be administered by the U.S. Commissioner of Education, would reimburse states for the expense of educating migrant children, establish summer programs with the federal government paying the full cost the first two years and thereafter 50 per cent of the cost, and to set up pilot programs of adult education. 2) Up to \$3 million a year for improvement of health services for migrant workers. 3) A ban on after-school employment of children under 14, except that children between 12 and 14 could work within 25 miles of their permanent residence. 4) Establishment of a National Advisory Council on Migratory Labor to advise the President and Congress on migratory problems and programs.

Historical Studies and Notes

Beginnings of German Congregations In and Around St. Louis, 1838-1844

by Rev. John M. Lenhart, O.F.M. Cap.

Part One

BISHOP JOSEPH ROSATI drew up in December, 1837, a list of German congregations established between 1828 and 1837, which list Father F. Holweck published with explanations in German in the *Central-Blatt and Social Justice*, and which I translated.

Father Holweck in November, 1923, continued this study in another article: "On February 27, 1838, Bishop Rosati in a letter dated St. Louis, Mo., writes: 'Of the three German priests one is stationed in Quincy, another in Teutonia, and the third in New Westphalia and every one of them has already a good number of parishioners.'" (*Berichte der Leopoldinen Stiftung*, Vol. XII, 1839, p. 47)

The missionary in Quincy was Father August Flornetius Brickwedde, the other in Teutonia (now Paderborn, Ill.) was the Swiss Charles Meyer, the third in New Westphalia, Mo., was Father Harvey Meinkmann, later in Washington, Mo., and eventually in Ferdinand, Indiana.

In a later letter Bishop Rosati wrote from St. Louis, Mo., under the date of July 21, 1838:

The number of German Catholics at this place is about two thousand. At the cathedral three priests are stationed who speak German and hear confessions in German. Moreover, among the Jesuit Fathers both in St. Louis and in St. Charles, German priests are found, or at least such who know German and who are able to preach in German. In Ste. Genevieve, in Westphalia and in Teutonia German priests likewise are stationed who are able to do the same but at present no churches are found at some of the places mentioned above.

(Ibid., Vol. XII, 1839, p. 56)

The three priests stationed at the Cathedral whom Bishop Rosati mentions here were Joseph Anthony Lutz, former Indian missionary, Joseph

Fischer and Father Gerard Ostlangenberg. In Westphalia was stationed the Jesuit Ferdinand M. Helias, in Ste. Genevieve the Lazarist Francis Xavier Dahmen. Apple Creek was served by Father John Henry Fortmann (stationed in Barrens), Washington was in the charge of Father Harvey Meinkmann, Teutonia was in the charge of Father Charles Meyer and Shoal Creek (now Germantown, Ill.) was ministered by Father Ostlangenberg (stationed at the Cathedral in St. Louis). In St. Charles there were always stationed Jesuits who spoke German, for instance Father Cornelius Walters, a Hollander.

On February 19, 1840, Bishop Rosati wrote from St. Louis to Vienna:

Not insignificant also is the number of Germans who have settled in various parts of my diocese. Already they have formed twelve parishes where they are happy in the practise of their religion, and I was able to appoint priests of their nationality, who speak their own language, who preach in it and hear confessions in it, and who can best care for their souls. In St. Louis proper 3,000 Germans are in the charge of two German priests who preach in German on all Sundays and Feast-Days and give catechetical instruction. The Germans zealously fulfill their religious duties, yet they do not have as yet a church of their own but assemble for Mass in the cathedral at 9 o'clock, because services for the English-speaking faithful begin at 10 o'clock. Yet this arrangement is not liked by many, especially those who live in the country, because they are not able to get to Church in time to hear the sermon. Therefore we have bought a piece of land at the city limits for \$16,000 (in francs \$3,333) on which a church will be built for them. We had to borrow the money. Though this purchase is a heavy debt, the construction of the building will only increase it. The German Lutherans have settled here after our German Catholics and already have built a large church of their own.

(Ibid., Vol. XIV, 1841, pp. 34-35)

It is very hard to determine which are the twelve German parishes of which Bishop Rosati speaks. Known are: Apple Creek, Dardenne (St. Peter's), Westphalia, Washington, Johnson Settlement (near Millstadt, Ill.), St. Libory (Ill.), Shoal Creek (Ill.), Teutonia (Ill.), Quincy (Ill.), yet the locations of the three remaining parishes is uncertain.

The two German priests in St. Louis were Lutz and Fischer. The plot on which the German church was to be built was located in Reilly

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Addition, on the other side of Chauteau Pond. Later the Irish Orphan Asylum was built on this plot.

The *Berichte der Leopoldinen-Stiftung* printed two more letters written by Bishop Rosati, dated June 19, 1841, and September 19, 1842, but they do not contain any reference to the Germans of St. Louis. (Holweck, op. cit., November, 1923, p. 269)

Father Holweck overlooked the contemporary letters of the Jesuits Van de Velde and Helias, which give additional information. The Jesuit John Oliver Van de Velde wrote in 1841: "German colonies are numerous in the State of Missouri. Many years ago Father Cornelius Walters was sent to St. Charles to preach the Word of God and to administer the sacraments to the Germans who are settled in that town and in the settlements on the other bank of the Missouri River. We are particularly pleased to see that his zeal for souls was crowned with the greatest results." (Berichte, op. cit., Vol. XVI, 1843, p. 6) Father Walters was appointed pastor of St. Charles, Dardenne and other missions in August, 1836, (Rothensteiner; *History of the Archdiocese of St. Louis*, Vol. II, p. 425) but he does not say a word about his ministry to the Germans. It is very significant that Father Van de Velde states that Father Walters was expressly sent into that district in order to take care of the Germans. The Belgian Jesuits had taken charge of this district in 1823 and the Fathers Timmermans, Verreydt, Quickenborne, Verhaegen, Hoeken and Van Assche, who labored there, were all Flemings, speaking the same dialect as the immigrants from the Rhine and Westphalia; they could also minister well to the low Germans, and with some difficulty the high Germans of the southern provinces.

In regard to the Germans of St. Louis Father Van de Velde stated:

At the same time (when Bishop Rosati appointed a pastor for the Germans on January 24, 1834) a similar measure was introduced by the Society of Jesus for the benefit of the Germans. In the chapel of the university a special service was arranged for them which was well attended by all. First Father Herman Aelen and then Ferdinand Helias had been placed in charge of the Germans. When Father Aelen was sent to the Potawatomi Indians at Sugar Creek and Father Helias to the colony of Westphalians who lately had settled near the city of Jefferson, they were replaced by the Fathers John Baptist Emig and Peter Verhaegen. They stayed at this office until last autumn (1840), when Father James Cotting was appointed to devote

his labors *exclusively* to the ministry of the Germans. When Father Fischer was so overburdened with work that his health began to break down, Father Cotting was forced to replace him and preach to the Germans at the Cathedral. During Lent of last year (1840) Father Cotting preached three and four times at the Cathedral without, however, neglecting the ministry at the University Chapel. In order to give the Germans better opportunities to hear German sermons, the arrangement was made to preach in the two churches at different times, namely at 9 o'clock at the Cathedral and at 11 o'clock at the university. It is surely edifying to see how eagerly these pious and simple people are pressing about the confessionals and are attending divine services in large crowds.

(*Berichte*, op. cit., Vol. XVI, 1843, pp. 6-7)

The Jesuits opened St. Louis University on November 2, 1829. Father Aelen arrived in the Potawatomi mission on April 26, 1839. (Rothensteiner, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 683) Father Helias was stationed in St. Louis from August 25, 1835, to April 1838, when he was sent to New Westphalia. (ibid., p. 694) Both fathers had been professors at the university and during their spare time took charge of the Germans. Both were native Flemings and spoke the low German dialect as their native language. Low German, Flemish and Dutch are one and the same language. The other Flemish speaking fathers at the university were also hearing the confessions of the Germans, inasmuch as they spoke low German.

Father John Baptist Emig was a native of Germany, of Hessian stock, who spoke a high German dialect. Born in Bensheim in 1808, he arrived in America in 1832, was ordained in 1840, was transferred in 1868 to Frederick, Maryland, and died at Conewago, Pa., in 1889. Father Peter Verhaegen was a Fleming. Father James Cotting was a Swiss, born in Fribourg in 1812, arriving in America in 1840, six months after his ordination. In 1868 he was transferred to Frederick, Maryland, and died June 23, 1892, at Georgetown, D.C. From 1846 till 1849 he was laboring in New Westphalia. In 1843 he started St. Joseph's Parish in St. Louis, Mo. Rothensteiner (ibid., Vol. II, p. 559) did not know of Van de Velde's letter of 1841 and does not say anything about the Jesuit fathers who had preceded Father Cotting in the care of the Germans from 1834 to 1840. Yet Rothensteiner (ibid., Vol. I, p. 830) mentions Helias, Emig, Busschotts and Eysvogels, but the latter two were never mentioned there.

Father Van de Velde continued in his letter of 1841 to say:

Pater Helias first has to take care of the congregation of New Westphalia, then he has also to take care of all the Germans who are settled in the neighborhood of Jefferson in small colonies or who live scattered far and wide in the country. Father James Busschots was also appointed to take care of the Germans in the same manner (at Washington, Franklin County, since September 1849). (ibid., Vol. I, p. 695) These two Fathers are suffering great privations: they have neither a house nor a church, for the room in which they conduct services at present is far too small and, moreover, not quite adequate for divine services. Several smaller colonies which are attached to this mission have repeatedly expressed the wish and repeatedly discussed in meetings the ways and means to obtain an adequate church, yet because of lack of funds their pious wishes have not yet been gratified. Still, we trust that Divine Providence will procure for us the means to assist them by and by in their endeavor.

(*Berichte*, op. cit., Vol. XVI, 1843, pp. 7-8)

In 1841 the Leopoldinen-Stiftung gave to the Jesuit missions in Maryland, Pennsylvania and Missouri a donation of 4,000 gulden (\$1600; in 1950 dollar value, \$6400.) Father Van de Velde remarked: "The aid which we received lately from the Leopoldinen Stiftung will contribute in no small degree to improve conditions in the missions of New Westphalia and Washington." (ibid., Vol. XVI, 1843, p. 8)

On December 15, 1842, Father Helias wrote to the Leopoldinen Stiftung in Vienna for support, as follows:

I, a poor and forsaken missionary, take the liberty to address Your Grace not only on my behalf but also on that of the Catholics entrusted to my care and whose privations and sufferings are very great. It is now six years since I have pronounced the holy vow of poverty and have begun to experience its privations. Since my holy vocation obliges me to live at that place and in that part of the world where I will find better opportunities to labor for the honor of God and the salvation of souls, I have petitioned my superiors to send me into this very poor mission, where I have decided to labor incessantly until my death in this vineyard of the Lord situated in the diocese of St. Louis. My countrymen, who have flocked from all parts of the Fatherland, are, apparently more than most, deprived from all spiritual and temporal assistance. This mission is located in central Missouri and extends over an area of more than 800 miles.

In this extensive territory entrusted to my care I have built already six churches of wood.

The first church was built under the patronage of the Sacred Heart of Jesus on the River Gasconade in Osage County (Richfountain organized in 1840). (Rothensteiner, op. cit., Vol. I, p. 698) The second

church, dedicated to the Immaculate Conception, was built at Lewis Creek in Osage County (actually, Loose Creek). (ibid., Vol. II, p. 365: Rothensteiner knows of this church but dates it only as built in 1845) The third church, dedicated to St. Joseph, was built in New Westphalia in Osage County. (In 1838; ibid., Vol. I, p. 695) The fourth is dedicated to the Assumption of the Blessed Virgin, and is in Cole County on Manitou River. (ibid., Vol. II, p. 357) The fifth, in Jefferson, the capital of the State, is dedicated to St. Ignatius. The sixth, in Cole County on the Moreau River, is dedicated to St. Francis Xavier. I have chosen my dwelling places in the first and last stations.

(*Berichte*, op. cit., Vol. XVI, 1843, pp. 8-9)

Rothensteiner writes: "Up to 1842 only three churches were in existence in Father Helias' missionary district: St. Joseph at Westphalia, St. Francis Xavier in Cole County and Sacred Heart in Richfountain. The fourth was St. Ignatius at Jefferson City, begun in 1841; the fifth, Assumption at Cedron, in Moniteau County, was built before 1843." (Rothensteiner, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 357) Now, Father Helias wrote from St. Louis, Mo., on December 15, 1842, that he had built six churches. The sixth church, which Rothensteiner said was built in 1845, was Immaculate Conception at Loose Creek in Osage County.

(Continued from page 154)

though often maladroitly, in the past) the bulwark of freedom. Clearly the U.S. has nothing to gain in Laos; it is not interested in territory or wealth or prestige—or even military bases. Its interests coincide altogether with those of the country it professes to support.

On the other hand, Red China's interests flatly oppose those of Laos. China wants *lebensraum* and goods, especially rice, from the ricebowl of Asia, as Southeast Asia is called. Even more, as a revolutionary force, China covets the immense strategic power available to it in holding the eastern shoulder of Asia which controls one of the important arteries of world commerce. Freedom for Laos (as for all of Southeast Asia) lies entirely with the free world. If this is made clear and if free-world policies work genuinely for the consolidation of freedom in Southeast Asia, Prince Suvanna Phuma can be won. If he is won, there is some hope that Laos can be won. And if Laos is held on the side of freedom, the chances for freedom throughout the area are greatly increased.

Book Reviews

Received for Review

- Alonso, Arthur, O.P., *Catholic Action and the Laity*. Translated by Cornelius J. Crowley, Ph.D. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. \$4.50.
- Bunze, Laude, *Communist Tricks for Enslaving the World*. Twentieth Century Evangelism, P. O. Box 345, Pasadena, Cal. 100 pp. \$1.50 per copy—paper.
- Grossouw, W. K., *Spirituality of the New Testament*. Translated by Martin W. Schoenberg, O.S.C. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. \$3.95.
- Ong, Walter J., S.J., *Frontiers in American Catholicism*. The Macmillan Company, New York. \$1.25 paperback.
- Paul-Marie of the Cross, O.C.D., *Spirituality of the Old Testament*. Vol. I. Translated by Elizabeth McCabe. B. Herder Book Co., St. Louis. \$4.25.
- Suenens, Leon Joseph, Auxiliary Bishop of Malines, *Love and Control*. The Contemporary Problem. The Newman Press, Westminster, Maryland. \$3.25.

Reviews

- Shirer, William L., *The Rise and Fall of the Third Reich*. Simon and Schuster, New York: 1960. Pp. xii + 1245. \$10.00.

WHEN A BOOK remains first in the non-fictional category of the best seller list for several months in succession with but a single interruption, one approaches the reading and reviewing of it with certain minimum expectations. It is not that this reviewer was without some previous inkling as to Mr. Shirer's pronouncedly unfavorable views concerning everything German, for his book had been widely discussed and excerpts from it published in a nationally circulated magazine. But certainly one has a right to expect of a book given such an elaborate advance build up a far more impressive showing than that made by Mr. Shirer.

The full weight of Shirer's Germanophobic bias is revealed as early as page five when he writes that "the German people" were "a natural instrument which he [i.e., Hitler] was able to shape to his own sinister ends." And again we are told that Bismarck, Kaiser Wilhelm II, and Hitler left a common stamp upon Germany in the form of "a lust for power and domination, a passion for unbridled militarism, a contempt for democracy and individual freedom and a longing for authority, for authoritarianism." (p. 94) These are but a few of many anti-German diatribes which might be culled from Mr. Shirer's volume.

Undoubtedly, the most glaring defect in this "History of Nazi Germany," as it is sub-titled, is its failure to render an account of the non-German forces which gave rise to Nazism. One looks vainly for a discussion of even the basic terms of the Versailles Treaty. No hint at all is given that it was a harsh, vindictive instrument justly despised by every real German. While Clemenceau, Lloyd-George, Wilson and their successors emerge without blame, virtually no German escapes censure. Even the moderate Centrist, Chancellor Bruen-

ing, is taken to task unfairly (p. 163) for what Shirer mistakenly believes was a substantial role in the death of the Weimar Republic. All of this is hardly surprising from the pen of a man who could in all seriousness write that "Nazism and the Third Reich . . . were but a logical continuation of German history." (p. 90) Apparently we are to believe that pre-Nazi Germany operated in some kind of a geopolitical vacuum untouched by outside influences! A convenient assumption for those who would ignore the embarrassing question of the non-German factors in Germany's troubles after World War I.

The account of the diplomatic prelude to World War II contains no hitherto undisclosed facts and offers nothing new in the way of interpretations. In its general outlines it is but a rehash of the wartime propagandist thesis of Germany plotting for global conquest. In this connection, it is interesting to note the great importance Shirer accords to Hitler's meeting with his military chiefs on November 5, 1937, as recorded in the so-called Hossbach memorandum. (Pp. 303-308) He speaks of it as "the decisive turning point in the life of the Third Reich" and an "irrevocable decision to go to war." This is the conventional interpretation. It is also an interpretation which has been utterly demolished by an English historian of usually bitter anti-German sentiment. (A.J.P. Taylor, *The Origins of the Second World War*, Hamish Hamilton: 1961, Pp. 131-134)

Among the most absurd and naive passages in this book are those dealing with American entry into World War II. (Pp. 871-902) In all seriousness, Shirer writes of German "grandiose plans for world conquest," telling us that America's "turn" would come after the Reich had "struck down" Britain and the U.S.S.R. Apparently, Shirer is entirely unaware of the significance of the work of the American revisionist historians. Judging indeed from his bibliography, he is unaware, for the most part, of its very existence. Only Charles C. Tansill's *Backdoor to War* is cited, without any reference to the works of Barnes, Beard, Current, Morgenstern, or the other revisionists. Certainly, a serious, open-minded consideration of their findings would have forced him to recast this entire chapter and a great deal else in his book besides.

One cannot but regret that the author's one-sided desire to chronicle only Nazi crimes, and those at great length, is unmatched by a willingness to balance the record by recording the misdeeds of Germany's wartime enemies and, in particular, the Soviet Union. In summary then, this is a book deficient in insight, badly biased in interpretation, and rancorous in tone. Under the circumstances, it cannot offer anything of value to the uncritical general reader for whom it is intended, to judge from its publicity buildup. Rather, its appearance at this critical time when German and Western amity was never more urgently needed is distinctly to be regretted.

MICHAEL F. CONNORS, M.A.

O'Connor, John F., *Cold War and Liberation*. Vantage Press, N.Y. Pp. 611. \$7.50.

John F. O'Connor, lawyer turned author, argues through twenty heavily documented chapters for a mutual-assistance program which will include the subject peoples as well as the free nations. It is his conviction that these captive peoples can be helped "without provoking—or awaiting—a world war, simply by giving due consideration to suggestions which have been made by persons within our government, and by the subject peoples themselves." He says the United States has failed to help the subject peoples not out of selfish motives, but rather because of the widely held belief that these regimes are supported by a majority of their populations.

The young author is highly critical of the free world for having neglected to take advantage of the "opportunities" to assist the subject peoples on the "many occasions" when these peoples demonstrated their desire for freedom, when they were close to freedom, when, as he says, "even slight assistance from abroad would have tipped the scales of history." One such opportunity "missed" was in 1918—his genesis of the Cold War—when there was great interest in the liberation of central Europe, but notably little in the cause of freedom for the Russian empire, despite the fact that the Root mission gave a definite pledge to Russia of American support for "freedom equally with our own." As a result of the "desultory support" given by the free nations to principles of self-determination in Russia, the Bolsheviks were able to trample not only the rights of their own people but also to ignore those of non-Russian nations. The United States believed aid would be neither welcome nor useful and hence withheld it. Mr. O'Connor says the State Department expressed the vain hope, to which the United States still clings after more than forty years of expectation, that there would be "a change for the better to be brought about without foreign intervention" (an "irreversible" trend).

The book is in a sense a history of Communist foreign policy with "rounds" of Soviet aggression claiming attention. Free world reactions—but especially American reactions and sometimes *in*actions—to these overt moves are found in the statements of government leaders liberally quoted throughout the text. The author fits these reactions into what he identifies as hypotheses of current western cold war strategy. There is the "irreversible" trend (evolutionary process of voluntary Soviet reform), the "irresistible" demand (forced reformation of some kind induced from within), and the moral force of world opinion. Under the last he explores in great detail the "inconsistent" and "incomprehensible" United States policy on nonrecognition.

The United Nations, too, comes in for its share of criticism. Mr. O'Connor maintains that in every UN effort the key to success or failure was the existence or absence of some form of compulsion. Where compulsion was employed, world opinion prevailed; where it was not found, the UN failed to achieve its objectives.

Although one may not agree with Mr. O'Connor's proposed strategy—and undoubtedly many will not—

one can at least credit him with a specific alternative proposal to what he is so heartily damning. He thinks a way can be found to assist the captive peoples by supplying them with arms, equipment and money—when they request it—so that they can enforce their own legitimate demands for freedom. He proposes this middle way between invasion and the mere "setting of an example of the good fruits of freedom." He argues that if we furnish arms and the training which will enable the peoples of all Communist-dominated nations to provide their own deterrent to opposition, we will thus bring about the forced reformation ("irresistible" demand) which has so often been predicted but never realized.

The author admits that effective aid to the subject peoples involves the *risk* of a third world war, but claims it is also just as possible that the assumption of this risk is the only way to *prevent* such a war. He does not make it clear how one recognizes the representative groups (i.e. those to be armed) that have real strength and promise, nor how one distinguishes these from others that rise and fall like the tides.

Although Mr. O'Connor declares in his preface that he is not "implying judgments" on any person or free government whose policies are criticized, it is difficult to avoid forming a judgment when one reads a statement such as, "The desire to placate the Communists had prevailed" (when the British and French embassies in Moscow advised against a declaration of war on Russia after the Soviet attack on Poland).

One cannot but admire the author's forthright manner, his vigorous argumentative style, and the endless train of statements to support his many points; but this does not prevent one from fervently wishing he had streamlined his work by being less zealous in multiplying his examples and more alert in maintaining his central argument. Granted that the miracles at Fatima are an integral part of the history of international Communism and that they indicate the same solutions proposed by American leaders in time of crisis—prayer and penance—still it might be asked if such a detailed account of the phenomena does not vitiate rather than sharpen his pleas for attention to prayer. This is, however, part of a general criticism in that the author, seemingly not satisfied with substantial data, frequently brings in extraneous material and thus more often obfuscates than clarifies the point.

Certainly *Cold War and Liberation* is controversial. It will no doubt stimulate thinking on a highly important and shamefully neglected problem. Its chief contribution may be exactly this.

SISTER MARY MANGAN, S.L.

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Reports and news intended for publication in *Social Justice Review* should be in the hands of the editors not later than the 18th of the month preceding publication.

A CONVENTION OF MOMENT

FOR THE SECOND TIME in ninety-nine years the Catholic Central Union (Verein) of America conducted its annual convention in Syracuse, N. Y., August 25-30. Thus we were again privileged to meet in upper New York State, the cradle of the old Central Verein. For it was in these parts in the year 1854 that the idea of a national federation of Catholic societies, which culminated in the formation of our sturdy organization, was originally conceived.

Unlike the assembly which met for the first convention of the Verein in Syracuse, the delegates this year included women and young people as well as adult men. Our sister organization, the National Catholic Women's Union, was in session for its 45th annual conclave, while our Youth Section held its ninth convention as it is now constituted. This difference in the two conventions is truly significant: it indicates that the old Central Verein, although constant and firm in its devotion to principles and traditions, is not a static body, but possesses both the vision and the adaptability to adjust to the ever-changing environment. Because it is not always easy to make such adjustments, societies easily lose their purpose and pass from the scene.

Has the Central Verein lost its purpose, its sense of mission? If the recent Syracuse convention can serve as a criterion, the answer must be unequivocally

in the negative. No less an authority than Joseph Matt of St. Paul, editor of *The Wanderer*, who has been a leader in our ranks for over sixty years, stated at the outset of the convention that the CCU has a more urgent mission today than at any time in its long history. And what is that mission? To give testimony to the truth, to propagate and apply the changeless Christian moral and social principles, especially as they are enunciated and expounded in modern papal teachings and in the official statements of our Bishops. This mission is so important in our day because the greatest casualty in this era of confusion and chaos is God's truth which alone can make men free, which alone can restore order and harmony to this shattered world. An amoral society has rejected the sanctions of the Divine natural and positive laws. We feel that it is our bounden duty as Catholics to do all in our power, individually and collectively, to reinstate the rule of Christ and the principles of the Gospel in all human affairs.

That Mr. Matt was not alone in his appraisal of the Central Verein's continuing purposefulness was eloquently attested by the serious manner of all the delegates in Syracuse, whose time at the convention was divided between the church and the meeting hall, between prayer and deliberation. They showed an awareness of lay responsibility not so common in this

day of distraction and absorption with life's trivialities. If the delegates needed any added incentive for apostolic action, this incentive was most generously supplied in the various outstanding addresses which featured every joint meeting. The Convention Committee merits unstinted praise for its choice of speakers and subjects, each of which bore on the convention motto taken from the 1960 Christmas Address of Pope John: "Know how to build with quiet perseverance and untiring endeavor the conditions for better times, healthier, more just, more secure."

Addresses of Moment

Approximately 400 delegates and visitors assembled in the ballroom of Hotel Syracuse on Saturday night to hear a highly inspirational and informative address by Rev. Michael Lies of Wichita, Kansas. Father Lies spoke on the "Papal Volunteers," the Holy Father's own program of active lay participation in the Church's historic missionary program. The lecture was enhanced by a series of slides depicting the spiritual and material poverty of the people in Brazil. Father Lies, as director of the Papal Volunteer program for the Diocese of Wichita, spent several months studying the mission situation in South America. He has two sisters working as lay apostles in the missions. With justifiable pride he noted that Wichita was the first diocese in our country to espouse the Papal Volunteer program. It was significant that, although Father Lies addressed all the delegates, he appeared on the program under the auspices of the Youth Section. The Papal Volunteers are being recruited from the ranks of our young people. The delegates responded to Fr. Lies' well-prepared lecture with prolonged applause.

Further intellectual and motivational stimulation was furnished on Sunday afternoon at the Civic Forum. It was decided months ago, when the convention program was in its embryonic stage of development, that the Holy Father's momentous encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, would be given preeminent consideration among topics of discussion in Syracuse. After all, it would be inconceivable that the Central Verein, pioneer organization in the study of the social encyclicals, should overlook an important papal document which already has taken its place beside *Rerum Novarum* and *Quadragesimo Anno* as milestones in the progress of the Church's social teachings. To do justice to *Mater et Magistra* in the form of an address, the Convention Committee was singularly fortunate in securing the services of Dr. Franz H. Mueller of St. Paul, Minn., a recognized authority on papal social doctrine. Dr. Mueller, who is Professor of Economics at the College of St. Thomas, entitled his address at the Civic Forum, "Encyclical Social Philosophy: 1891, 1931, 1961."

With great skill the speaker traced the evolution of social doctrine in the three major encyclicals, giving the dominant theme of each as determined by changing conditions in society. Dr. Mueller's address was very solid in content, as it had to be. It was acclaimed a masterpiece of statement on an extremely difficult subject. The text will be published in its entirety in *Social Justice Review*, with reprints available.

Another subject of great interest at the present time—education—was considered in the address at the convention dinner on Sunday night. Rev. Robert F. Grewen, S.J., until very recently president of Le Moyne College in Syracuse, pinpointed the grave deficiencies of modern secularistic learning. Under the title, "Education: Good Or Evil," the Jesuit educator stated that the objective of most American colleges and universities is completely materialistic. "The young who make material things their great object are the greatest danger to our country," he stated. "Their one wish is to have security, the guaranteed security of material things... To get this they will trade anything; they will sell their freedom."

Father Grewen also scored American higher education for its outright "phoniness." Administrators of many educational institutions are obsessed with but one objective: bigness and power. Money is needed for bigness. Hence the almost insatiable demands for so-called education.

The final address given to a general meeting of all the delegates was delivered by the Rev. Francis J. Litz, C.S.S.R. Addressing the men, women and youth delegates at the women's mass meeting on Tuesday night, Father Litz spoke inspiringly of the heroic life of the Servant of God, Bishop John N. Neumann, C.S.S.R. The Reverend speaker, who is Vice-Postulator of the cause of the Venerable Bishop, explained the reasons for special interest in Bishop Neumann's cause on the part of all Central Verein members. He recalled that the holy Bishop and our venerable organization had several cherished objectives in common, principally the parochial school system of which American Catholics are so proud today.

Mater et Magistra

Early in the preparations for the convention it was decided that Pope John's recent encyclical on the social order would receive special consideration in various ways at the meeting in Syracuse. Without doubt, Dr. Franz Mueller's address on Sunday afternoon on the three great social encyclicals was the highlight of the convention. Not content with assigning *Mater et Magistra* as the subject of the most important address of the convention, the delegates decided to devote most of the *Declaration of Principles* to the new encyclical. We are greatly indebted to Mr. Walter Matt of St. Paul, Associate Editor of *The Wanderer*, for having supplied the first draft of the *Declaration* which the delegates found extremely helpful.

The encyclical was considered under these headings: The Social Question, The Labor Question and The Farm Question. Supplementing these statements were declarations on International Crisis and Aid to Schools.

Mr. Joseph Matt again served as chairman of the Resolutions Committee which drafted the *Declaration of Principles*. Our Senior Statesman has headed this Committee for approximately thirty years. He was ably assisted in Syracuse by Dr. Nicholas Dietz of Omaha and Mr. Alphonse Ellerkamp of Philadelphia who served as secretaries. Much credit is due to Dr. Dietz for again having furnished all the delegates with

copies of the *Declaration* before their departure from the convention city. It was necessary for a staff of typists, comprising faithful women of our Syracuse Branches, to work far into the night so that these copies could be made available.

According to established procedure, business sessions were held on Monday, Tuesday and Wednesday. Our president, Mr. Richard Hemmerlein, divided his time between serving as chairman of the business sessions and attending to a multitude of details—an added burden that was his because we were meeting in his home city. In the enforced absence of Mr. Hemmerlein from these sessions, the chair was competently filled by our first vice-president, Mr. Joseph Kraus of Dallas, Texas. Both Mr. Hemmerlein and Mr. Kraus were functioning in their respective capacities for the first time since their election in Little Rock last year.

The many and varied activities of the convention took place in very orderly fashion. There was evidence at every turn that the local Committee had planned well for this convention. Another contributing factor to the convention's good order were the ideal hotel facilities. All the meeting rooms, both great and small, were located on the tenth floor of the hotel. This concentration of meeting rooms contributed greatly to the convenience of the delegates and eliminated much waste of time.

All the spiritual exercises, including Sunday's Pontifical Dialogue Mass and the weekday High Masses, took place in Immaculate Conception Cathedral which is a short block from Hotel Syracuse. The local Ordinary, the Most Rev. Walter A. Foery, was represented at the convention by his Most Reverend Auxiliary, Bishop David Cunningham. Bishop Cunningham celebrated Sunday's Convention Mass and returned to address the delegates briefly at the Tuesday night mass meeting. He expressed his deep satisfaction with the serious attitude of the delegates.

Perhaps the best comment on the manner of the delegates in attendance was given by one of our faithful veterans, Mr. John Eibeck of Pittsburgh, former Supreme President of the Catholic Knights of St. George. Mr. Eibeck, who served as president of the Central Verein thirty years ago and who has attended our conventions for more than a half century, should be qualified to speak with authority on matters relating to our organization. During a short recess in Syracuse he observed to the present writer that there is no doubt but that our conventions years ago drew a larger number of delegates than they do today. However, observed Mr. Eibeck thoughtfully, every delegate in attendance today seems to be an active participant in the convention. Years ago many came "just for the ride," to enjoy a bit of *Gemütlichkeit*.

If Mr. Eibeck's observation is correct—and we have no reason to believe that it isn't—the future of our venerable Central Verein is assured. We have never been beguiled by bigness or deceived by numbers. For a truly effective apostolate quality will always be a more important factor than quantity. May this great truth be never forgotten by the members of our historic organization.

V. T. S.

Recommendations Adopted at the Syracuse Convention

THE FOLLOWING recommendations, originating in the CCU Committee on Social Action and approved by the Board of Directors, were adopted by the delegates to the CCU 106th convention in Syracuse:

1. That the Right Reverend Monsignor Victor T. Suren be named the Representative of the Committee on Social Action with respect to the Director of the Central Bureau or the person in charge of the Central Bureau, and to the President of the Catholic Central Union of America, with the authority of the Committee on Social Action to maintain the policies and traditions of the Catholic Central Union of America.
2. That the Representative of the Committee on Social Action be remunerated at the rate of six hundred (600) dollars per year for his services.
3. That the Reverend Francis J. Buechler be nominated as a member of the Committee on Social Action.
4. That from henceforth there be a Spiritual Director of the Catholic Central Union of America.
5. That the President of the Catholic Central Union of America request His Excellency the Most Reverend William A. Scully, Bishop of Albany, to permit the appointment of Reverend Francis J. Buechler as Spiritual Director of the Catholic Central Union of America, subject to the approval of our Episcopal Protector, Joseph Cardinal Ritter, Archbishop of St. Louis.
6. That Mr. James H. Zipf of St. Louis, Mo., be nominated as a member of the Committee on Social Action.
7. That the Central Bureau subcommittee be continued, as constituted of three members and with the same powers.
8. That the employees, now nine, of the Central Bureau be enrolled as a group in Group Hospital Service, Inc., and the cost of this program be paid by the Central Bureau.
9. That interior portions of the Central Bureau building be redecorated as soon as it is feasible to do so.
10. That the Central Bureau be authorized to conduct the annual Christmas appeal in 1961.
11. That the annual report of the Central Bureau be accepted with commendation and thanks. The Committee wishes to express its satisfaction with accomplishments of the Central Bureau during the past year.
12. That our officers be authorized, with the consent of our episcopal superiors, to secure accreditation at the United Nations and the American Mission to the United Nations; and that they make the necessary and proper arrangements toward having an observer at the UN to represent the Catholic Central Union (Verein) of America.

Convention Notes

A most interesting resumé of the CCU history was given at the Civic Forum on Sunday afternoon by the Rt. Rev. Msgr. Rudolph Kraus, D.D., of North Tarrytown, New York. The good Monsignor, a staunch friend of our organization, enlivened his address with some sprightly humor.

Central Bureau night was observed in Syracuse on Monday. A large gathering of delegates thoroughly enjoyed three well-prepared addresses directly relating to our movement: Dr. Don A. Livingston discoursed on the important questions and problems confronting Catholics in this age; Dr. Nicholas Dietz was at his best in giving his fourth annual report on our Microfilming Project; Mr. Joseph Kraus, chairman of the CCU Membership Committee, unfolded some very constructive designs for reclaiming lost members and enlisting new ones.

The Committee on Social Action held sessions throughout Friday, August 25. Mr. Albert J. Sattler, K.H.S., of New York, served as chairman.

The secretary of the Committee, Mr. August Springob of Milwaukee, was unable to attend the Syracuse convention because of the critical condition of one of his sons who was involved in an automobile accident. Dr. B. N. Lies of Colwich, Kansas, served as secretary pro tem for the Committee on Social Action.

Other members of the Committee on Social Action who were detained by illness or urgent business included: Msgr. Anthony Ostheimer of Philadelphia, Rev. C. F. Moosman of Munhall, Pa., Mr. John Pfeiffer of San Antonio, and Mr. Walter Matt of St. Paul, Minn. Father Moosmann, in explaining his inability to attend the convention because of illness, sent a check to cover ten subscriptions to *Social Justice Review* for libraries and colleges.

Dr. Nicholas Dietz of Omaha, who is the author of a resolution adopted at last year's CCU Convention in Little Rock on the cause of Bishop Niels Stensen, informs us that the Copenhagen multilingual journal, *Stenoniana Catholica*, published the resolution verbatim (in English) as the lead article in its November, 1960, issue. The journal is published three times a year. An accompanying article in the Danish journal gave a brief summary of the CCU history and objectives.

For his efforts in promoting Bishop Stensen's cause, Dr. Dietz has received commendatory letters from several members of the American Hierarchy, including Cardinal Cushing of Boston and Archbishop Bergan of Omaha.

A spiritual bouquet for Cardinal Ritter, enscribed on a beautifully illuminated parchment, was presented to Mr. Frank Weber, president of the Catholic Union of Missouri, who will deliver the parchment to His Eminence on behalf of President Hemmerlein.

Acknowledgment of Monies and Gifts Received

*Make Checks and Money Orders Payable to
Central Bureau of the C.V.*

*Address: Central Bureau, 3835 Westminster Place,
St. Louis 8, Missouri*

Donation to the Central Bureau

John A. Suellentrip, Kans., \$5; John J. Manning, N.Y., \$2; George Niemeyer, N.Y., \$2; Catholic State League of Texas, \$40; Rev. G. F. Strassner, Ark., \$1; Frank J. Weber, Mo., \$2; Joseph Greber, Mo., \$2; Nicholas Dietz, Jr., Nebr., \$2; Jakob Keller, N.Y., \$2; Rev. Boniface Mohr, O.S.B., Okla., \$2; Charles Stelzer, Maine, \$2; August Springob, Wis., \$2; Rt. Rev. Msgr. R. Kraus, N.Y., \$2; Ralph H. Wappelhorst, Kans., \$2; Michael Pfeffer, Pa., \$2; J. J. Berg, Tex., \$2; John A. Bell, Wis., \$2; Paul Stock, N.Y., \$2; Frank O. Bauer, Jr., Mo., \$65; Joseph Greber, Mo., \$5; Total to and including August 11, 1961, \$146.00.

Chaplain's Aid

A. H. Stormann, Mo., \$10; St. Francis de Sales Ben. Soc., Mo., \$3.11; Total to and including August 11, 1961, \$13.11.

Catholic Mission

Mrs. J. P. Wojtek, Ill., \$1.75; Miss Lydia Fraymuth, Mo., \$3; N.N. Missouri, \$50; Mrs. Christine Goetz, N. Y., .75; Mrs. A. R. Kane, Del., \$5; Mrs. Fred Detzner, Ill., \$10; Mrs. E. Jutchins, Mass., \$10; W. Inglis, M.M., N.Y., \$1; Miss Louise Hardinger, Fla., \$1; Monastery of St. Clare, Neb., \$100; Miss Rose J. Seitz, Ill., \$5; NCWU of Kansas, \$20; Joseph Greber, Mo., \$500; Miss Genevieve McCartin, N.Y., \$5; Mr. and Mrs. Steve Re, Cal., \$10; E. Betschart, Mo., \$5; Mrs. Clara A. Gibbons, Ill., \$6; Wm. J. Rose, Mo., \$2; Mrs. C. G. Long, N.Y., \$6; Mrs. M. Whitehead, Ky., \$10; Total to and including August 11, 1961, \$751.50.

Donation for Microfilming

Previous Contributions to June 30, 1961, \$2,488.81; Current Fiscal Year Contributions: Rt. Rev. Msgr. A. Straus, Mo., \$50; NCWU, Conn. Br., \$50; Mrs. Gertrude Wollshlager, Conn., \$10; Frank X. Mangold, Ill., \$10; Catholic State League of Texas, \$50; Total Current Fiscal Year Contributions, \$170.00.

St. Elizabeth Day Nursery

From Children Attending, \$1,519.39; United Fund, \$4,080.00; U.S. Milk Program, \$74.56; Designated Gift, \$327.00; Interest Div. Inc., \$41.88; Total to and including August 11, 1961, \$6,042.83.

Contributions to the CV Library

German American Library

Pennsylvania German Folklore Society, Pa., *The Fraktur-Writings or Illuminated Manuscripts of the Pennsylvania Germans*, Allentown, Pa., 1961.

Messages to the convention were received from a number of members of the Hierarchy including: Aloysius Cardinal Muench who had recently visited the United States, Joseph Cardinal Ritter, Francis Cardinal Spellman, Richard Cardinal Cushing, Albert Cardinal Meyer and Francis Cardinal McIntyre.

DECLARATION OF PRINCIPLES

Adopted by the 106th Convention of the
Catholic Central Union (Verein) of America
Syracuse, N. Y., August 25-30, 1961

Our Holy Father

While pledging our filial love and our unswerving loyalty to our Holy Father, Pope John XXIII, we mean to do more than indulge in high-sounding rhetoric. Aware of the great burdens of responsibility that have been placed upon his shoulders, especially in these critical and chaotic times, we mean to add action to our words: to labor with all the ability and power at our command to second his efforts to remove ill-will and rancor from the minds and hearts of men; to pray with particular fervor for the success of the forthcoming ecumenical council which has been called by him—in his own words, to “pray with perseverance. . . . The successful results of the future ecumenical council depend more upon the ardent prayers said in advance than upon all Our human activity and diligence;” and especially to support his program of justice to all men as set forth in his recent encyclical letter, *Mater et Magistra*, commemorating the 70th anniversary of Pope Leo XIII’s *Rerum Novarum*, and the 40th anniversary of *Quadragesimo Anno*.

We recognize full well that injustice has ever been the devil’s breeding ground for ill-will, resentment, malice, hatred and revenge in the world. Justice, on the other hand, by striving to give to each what is his due, by seeking to speak honorably and honestly of others and to others, and by endeavoring to deal fairly and decently with others, no matter at what cost, is a necessary and indispensable requisite of social order and peace. It is so in the home, in societal groups, as well as in the relations of race to race, and nation to nation.

Indeed, it is a return to the spirit of true Christianity to which the Vicar of Christ again calls us at a time when the nations of the world are dangerously close to another holocaust. At precisely this time, as a study of Pope John’s momentous new encyclical clearly reveals, all men and all nations are invited to the peace of a tranquil conscience in friendship with God, to the peace of families united and harmonized by love of Christ, and finally, to a peace between nation and nation through fraternal help, reciprocal and loving collaboration, and cordial understanding based on justice and charity.

Our Holy Father’s latest encyclical is a renewed and urgent reminder that the world is passing through a period of crisis, and that thoroughgoing remedies for existing conditions must be found. From the days of Pope Leo XIII to the present, the Popes of Rome have insisted on this over and over again, have summoned us to do battle on the basis of principles whose denial means the withering and decay of society. And yet, despite these repeated exhortations, all too many Christians and even Catholics remain either indifferent or they pursue divergent courses and are uncoordinated if not gravely confused both as to program as well as to policy.

We therefore re-affirm the serious obligation of Catholics generally to help realize the program of Christian social reconstruction enunciated particularly by Pope Leo XIII in *Rerum Novarum*, Pope Pius XI in *Quadragesimo Anno*, and by our present gloriously reigning Pontiff, Pope John XXIII, in his *Mater et Magistra*.

We recommend that our Branches make a determined effort to coordinate the members of their individual groups and then lend their assistance to the larger endeavor of effecting a thorough understanding of what is needed for a genuine Christian reconstruction of society in accordance with modern Papal teachings. Only from well-instructed, purposeful organizations and groups, as our Holy Father reminds us, wherein the sense of individual and personal responsibility is alive and strong, can salutary leadership and action come.

Mater et Magistra

In enjoining our members to a careful study of Pope John XXIII’s encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*, we call attention to two key words that must be especially weighed and pondered. These two words are “socialization” and “socialism,” which are entirely separate and distinct terms. Indeed, there is a world of difference between socialism, understood in the sense of enforced government ownership and control of productive property and human affairs, and socialization, as Pope John defines it, in the sense of individuals and groups voluntarily joining together and, with the aid of public authorities, striving to attain legitimate socio-economic objectives which are beyond their natural capacity and means.

“It is clear,” says the Pontiff, “that socialization, so understood, brings many advantages. It makes possible, in fact, the satisfaction of many personal rights, especially those called economico-social. . . .”

At the same time, however, as the Holy Father warns, there is a less happy or wholesome aspect of the trend toward socialization, even of the voluntary kind: It restricts individual human freedom, and, carried too far, it becomes a ready threat to individual as well as social well-being. In the Pontiff’s own words, it “creates an atmosphere which makes it difficult for each one to think independently of outside influences, to work on his own initiative, to exercise his own responsibility, to affirm and enrich his personality.” True, socialization does not *necessarily*, and in all times and circumstances, reduce men to automatons, at least not if it remains confined within the limits of the moral order and does not actually absorb or displace the inalienable rights, initiative and freedom of the human person. But, as was pointed out in July, 1960, in the statement of the Holy See to the *Semaine Sociale* in Grenoble, France, there is assuredly nothing inherently desirable or good in an “excessive socialization,” even if it remains distinct from outright Socialism. This “excessive socialization,” the statement explicitly warned, results in the eventual dehumanization of man in that it makes of him a faceless, irresponsible cog in the collective machine, one who, rather than think and judge for himself, “awaits an impulsion from without, an easy plaything in the hands of anyone who exploits (his) instincts and impressions, quick to follow now

this flag, now that one." What is needed, therefore, the statement declared, are more responsible individuals who, in order to help themselves in the temporal as well as spiritual order, will unite in equally responsible intermediary social bodies, subsidiary to legitimate public authority but independent of irresponsible outside dictation and control. For example, such intermediate groups as trade unions can, if properly oriented and conducted, help the individual maintain his distinct personality even while furthering his economic and social needs. But even such intermediate agencies must be "forms of free and spontaneous associations, well ordered and oriented," and membership in them must be "offered to, not imposed upon the free choice of mankind."

It was this explicit statement which the American Hierarchy made their own in their 1960 annual statement entitled "The Need For Personal Responsibility." In point of fact, it is the official statement of July, 1960, as well as the subsequent pronouncements in *Mater et Magistra*, which underscore anew the age-old concepts of individual freedom, personal responsibility and social solidarity that the Church has proclaimed to the world in season and out of season for twenty centuries.

Our American Bishops succinctly pinpointed this essential issue in their 1960 statement and, to a remarkable degree, anticipated, so to speak, the self-same issue contained in *Mater et Magistra*. In their pronouncement, our Bishops said no more and no less than what the Holy See has been saying throughout the centuries, and what Pope John is saying now. Together they are simply reminding the world that human peace and human progress are arrived at only in accordance with the measure of individual commitment to responsibility.

In sharp contrast to the prevailing theories of blind evolutionary determinism or the crassly materialistic, mechanistic tenets of Marx and his disciples, our Pope and our Bishops reassert the Church's traditional teachings of the inherent dignity and freedom of the human person who, endowed by the Creator with intelligence and free will and therefore the ability to do the Creator's bidding in harmony and peace with his fellowmen, has time and again proved throughout history that the composition and destiny of men and nations always was and always will be affected for better or for worse, by the free moral choice of individuals, or in other words, through the exercise of personal responsibility.

It is this marked sense of personal responsibility, our Popes and our Bishops say, which the modern world has lost. It is this personal sense of moral accountability which it must regain if it is to save itself. But how can there be a growth of responsibility, they ask, when the pressures for a constantly greater reliance on the collectivity—the economic organization, the labor union, the Party, the State, and even the United Nations—are growing everywhere and the demands for material well-being are persuading increasing numbers to relinquish their personal rights and to abdicate their personal responsibilities? Is the answer to be sought in more of the same old palliatives and panaceas? Are we to fight the Organization Man or the Mass Man

with more organization, more collectivized men? Hardly. In the Sovereign Pontiff's words: "Where personal initiative is lacking, there is tyranny." "First of all," says Pope John, there must be "personal initiative on the part of private citizens working either individually or in association with each other for the prosecution of common interests." In the American Bishops' words, "the cure is largely within the power of individual persons. A godly society is the work of godly men. Even the most universal evil and the threatened mechanization of man can be made to yield to the just and determined will of individual persons."

Basically, then, one and the same warning has been voiced by our divinely appointed shepherds and guides. It is the self-same warning and challenge the Catholic Central Union (Verein) has sounded almost from its inception. If Society is to be spared further dangerous inroads from the world-girdling forces of materialistic Socialism and atheistic Communism, if we are to resist dehumanizing trends and successfully overcome them, there is no other way than that delineated here by Holy Mother Church. In short, we are being enjoined by her, our Mother and Teacher, to live as becomes true Christians. We are being asked to recommit ourselves to a personal reclamation of our spiritual heritage as free men united and working together "to restore all things in Christ." We are being enjoined steadfastly to resist, with God's grace and God's power, the deadly drift towards servile regimentation, abject dehumanization and loveless welfarism, but not to be deterred from genuine Christian social action and programs of dignified self-help and mutual help, such as the Catholic Central Union has urged from the very beginning. We are being asked to learn to eschew what our American Bishops cite as a stultifying "uniformity of thought," supine loyalty to organization—whether it be the industrial corporation, the labor union, or the political party, where the organizational man, rather than the responsible individual, is favored and advanced.

At this point we need only remind our members that, fully in accord with the Church's social teachings, particularly with regard to that most fundamental principle of subsidiarity consistently underscored in the Papal encyclicals, it has always been a cardinal point in the social philosophy of the Catholic Central Verein that the efforts of the State to achieve social justice be subject to certain restrictions. While we do not deny the necessity of State intervention in economic affairs, at the same time we are firmly convinced that the ends of social justice will not be served by placing too much reliance on powers subject to the changing fancies of a changing electorate. Events clearly demonstrate that the tendency to develop an all-powerful State has gathered great force since the war. The menace to liberty, justice and sound government inherent in this tendency gathers force from the fact that people seeking escape from amoral Liberalism are taking refuge in the modern amoral State. Such a State is a "servile State" in which the citizens, once free, become slaves. The State has never been, and never should be, an object of worship for freedom. Social justice is rather a spiritual quality that develops only in the soil of

the soul. Law cannot create it. Thus, for example, when the Pope speaks of love of neighbor, also in the international sphere, and reminds us of obligations to the oppressed, the downtrodden and the underprivileged peoples, we cannot help but think of the abject plight of those millions of our fellowmen in the Captive Nations who languish today behind the Iron or the Bamboo Curtain, from Czecho-Slovakia to China and Cuba, and who must somehow be helped to regain their personal freedom along with the national independence of their subjugated countries. Truly, these are the underprivileged, the dispossessed and the afflicted who need our help. These are the people who benefit the least from a misnamed charity called Foreign Aid, which heretofore has been pumped into such Communist-controlled countries as Yugoslavia, Poland, Czecho-Slovakia, East Germany, Hungary, Cuba, etc., only to strengthen the Communist tyranny and thus defeat the cause of freedom and humanity.

As in the past, we rely upon the sure guidance of our Popes and Bishops who have pinpointed for us the causes of the world's decay and have shown us the means to salvation. The Organization Man, anonymous welfarism, one-worldism without the essential ingredient and bond of charity—these are not the answer to the world's great dilemma today. Only a fresh evocation of the principle and practice of personal responsibility in private as well as public life can revivify Society and help stem the seemingly inexorable march towards the automation of human beings and the steady loss of that freedom which is man's distinctive attribute.

World Crises

It is generally admitted that the international situation has reached a critical stage, probably one of the most dangerous phases in the history of the Christian era. The Berlin crisis, which at the moment is the most widely discussed problem, is a symbol of the reigning confusion unfolding before our eyes. It is only one of the many important concomitants of the frightening reality which has been graphically described by a great writer of former days as "a world out of joint." This catastrophe is the result of many contributing causes down to the two world wars of the recent past. But basically it is the climax of the revolt of governments and nations against the natural and revealed laws of God, against morals and faith, against Christ and His Church. Anti-Christ, personified today in Atheistic Communism, is waging what it expects to be the decisive battle against Christ. The deceptive phraseology of Khrushchev time and again has revealed the true nature of the conflict between East and West, which is not a mere conflict between two political and economic systems, as many believe. This conflict is much more fundamental; it is a conflict between two philosophies. Unfortunately, the East, under the leadership of Russian-Marxian Communism and its servile satellite governments, has the advantage of presenting a united front, while the West, having to a large extent forfeited its Christian heritage, is divided by many discordant views and aims. This is its essential weakness in its opposition to the demoniac aims of conquest,

namely, to make the world subservient to the Communist dictatorship. The West, having gradually lost its moorings of strength long before the catastrophic world wars, acted, through its representatives at the conference table, not as the conscientious exponent of sound moral principles, but from pragmatic and opportunistic and, in many instances, purely selfish considerations, presented to the Soviets the fruits of its military victories, and in the conferences at Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam, etc., was instrumental in making Communistic Russia the great world power it is today.

The West, therefore, is responsible for the danger-laden situation prevailing today. Instead of continuing its detrimental attitude of looking for face-saving formulas, for settlements which merely cover up appeasement and invite further complications, it is its duty to remedy, as far as possible, serious mistakes of the past by applying the principles of fairness and justice which, in fact, Western governments have solemnly pronounced on different occasions.

There are many problems still pending that call for such correction and just consideration, as well as new difficulties, for instance, those connected with the independence of rising new nations in Africa and Asia.

The 106th annual convention of the Catholic Central Union respectfully but urgently submits to our Government the following considerations:

1. Liberation of East European Peoples

Without American lend-lease and appeasement, Soviet Russia could never have extended its tyranny over half of Germany and several East European peoples. The United States, having accepted a share of responsibility for their liberation, cannot avoid exerting unrelenting diplomatic pressure on Soviet Russia to grant self-determination to its satellite and captive peoples, to give every feasible moral and material encouragement and support short of armed intervention to these nations and peoples toward their self-determination and liberation.

2. The Peace Treaty and Territorial Justice

In all considerations and negotiations of a final peace treaty with Germany, the United States should base such negotiations on the principles of the Atlantic Charter and agreements of the Allies, and demand self-determination and territorial integrity and justice for the whole German people, which must include the restitution of their homes and homelands to the German expellees from former German territories.

As Catholics and as Americans, we are seriously concerned about all the captive peoples who have been deprived, by their Communist masters, of all those inalienable rights, among them the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, with which all these peoples were endowed by their Creator. We earnestly believe that the United States, as the leading power of the Western World, should plead their cause at the coming session of the General Assembly of the United Nations; we believe that the matter of their enslavement should properly appear on the agenda of the General Assembly so that the representatives of all nations, and particularly of the newly independent

nations, may be given an opportunity to discuss and investigate the extent of deprivation of human rights in Eastern and Middle Germany, in Lithuania, Estonia, Latvia, Poland, Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Yugoslavia, and Albania. We believe that such deprivation of human rights constitutes so grave a threat to world peace, that it requires the free admission of United Nations' officials and observers into those countries under Communist domination.

The Catholic Central Union of America repeats its stand with regard to Red China, and reiterates that to undertake the recognition of Red China or its admission to the United Nations, in the face of the uncontroverted evidence of religious persecution in China and the other lands within the Red orbit, as has been advocated by some of our so-called liberal Americans, and the further fact that Red China is still at war with the United Nations, would be not merely a sellout to crassest political expediency and flagrantly immoral, but also—and we emphasize it—unpatriotic, to an extent almost bordering on treason.

3. **Autonomy for South Tyrol**

The denial in 1919 (contrary to President Wilson's strong protests) and in 1945 of self-determination to the South Tyrolese remains an open sore in the relations between Italy and Austria and is a repudiation of the expressed ideal of self-determination which the West is urging both for all colonial peoples and on Soviet Russia for its captive peoples. The United States Government is urged to use its good offices and determined influence to secure a fair and just solution of this conflict.

4. **Return of Alien Property**

The destruction of the right to private property is a fundamental viciousness of Communism. Our United States Government should take special pride in respecting the rights of private property even in times of war by forthwith returning in full the German and Japanese private property, individual and corporate, which it impounded during the war years.

The Social Question

Recognizing clearly the great evils of our time, the Catholic Central Union has devoted its energies to that "beneficent Christian movement for the welfare of the people," of which Pope Leo XIII speaks in his encyclical on Christian Democracy. As this great Pontiff and his august successors in the Chair of Peter have shown, society must be led back from the false paths upon which it has entered by the rejection of the natural and positive divine laws; and the evils, which have sprung from that course, must be remedied.

This prescription is also the substance of Pope John XXIII's latest encyclical, *Mater et Magistra*: Society must experience a religious and moral regeneration, and its socio-economic activities must be activated according to the principles of justice and charity.

Society, in short, has been dominated by a philosophy which has turned it away from natural law and divine revelation for too long a time to expect a radical change for the better in the near future. Nevertheless, the

gradual realization that Society is wandering along dangerous paths has begun to set in with many people who begin to see, as our Holy Father points out, that the mere acquisition of money is not sufficient to secure the happiness and true prosperity of a nation or a people. If a people devote themselves all but exclusively to the acquisition of material prosperity and forget the needs of the spirit, grave and unwholesome ills almost immediately result. The most dangerous of these ills is an inordinate and demoralizing love of pleasure, which destroys those sterner virtues and that self-discipline upon which the maintenance of social order so much depends. The love of pleasure may for a time produce a certain outward splendor, as the history of many a defunct nation shows; but this outward splendor cannot long conceal the inner decay, which destroys the vitality of a nation and inevitably leads to national ruin and disaster. The history of ancient Rome furnishes us with a striking illustration of this law of social development. As long as the people of Rome cherished their ideals and jealously guarded what they considered their sacred liberties, Rome was strong within and invincible from without. But at a later day when wealth poured into the imperial city, the people forgot their ideals and gave themselves over to the pursuit of pleasure until corruption set in and the populace ceased to care what tyrant lorded it over them as long as they had *panem et circenses*, or, as we would say, as long as they had good times and plenty of amusements. Then it happened that the doom of the mightiest political empire and the most compact social organization heathendom had ever produced was sealed.

Today, too, there are many and varied signs of internal decay in our great Nation, all of them reflecting clearly the basic fact that what is chiefly lacking, as our American Bishops warned anew in their statement of 1960, is the sense of personal responsibility and accountability in the sight of God. Hence we see, besides the flagrant corruption in private and public life, a dangerous tendency on the part of our political leaders, many of whom are far too readily influenced, if not by the demands of outright Socialism, then at least by unprincipled pressure groups opposed to a healthy development and characterized by an unreasonable zeal for reforms which are often prompted only by party politics and partisan needs.

It must therefore be borne in mind that it is the *Christian* reorganization of Society to which we must look as our primary social responsibility and aim; that by any other socio-political activity, designed merely to treat the symptoms of the internal illness of society, the true welfare of the people cannot be attained; that many measures advocated for the eradication of social ills, however welcome in themselves, can at best only be regarded as transient, mitigating remedies; that reform measures must not lose sight of the main purpose and object of human solicitude, namely, the individual human being created in the image and likeness of God and destined for immortality. This fact indeed cannot be overemphasized. A prudent and persistent activity in this field is most important, for an unhealthy socio-political activity, because of inherent as well as acci-

dental error, because of the inclination of the American people to go to extremes, and because of their present tendency to slough personal responsibilities and delegate these to the State, is a logical prelude to Socialism.

It is therefore the duty of Catholics, primarily, to participate in the reorganization of the social and economic life in the midst of all these social currents and to endeavor to renew it in the light of Christian principles. We remind our members that the Christian movement for the welfare of the people concerns itself with the elevating and strengthening of *all* classes and cells of society. At the present moment attention is still focused almost exclusively on the working class, though the middle class, which is historically the backbone of society, appears to be more and more neglected and ignored with consequent ill effect on society.

In our annual convention in St. Louis, in 1942, we drafted a separate resolution warning of the demise of the middle class as "a dangerous symptom of social sickness," bringing in its wake "a disordered social body composed of proletarians and the wealthy, with an unbridgeable chasm between the two groups." We herewith reiterate that warning and, so far as the social question in general is concerned, we again underscore our statement of principles as adopted at our Chicago convention of 1947, namely, that "regardless of the extent of social legislation, if private life is unwholesome, if selfishness rules men's hearts, if the idea of right supersedes that of duty, if an unbridled love of pleasure destroys all discipline, if regard for the common good does not predominate over selfish class interests and ambitions," then there can be no wholesome social or national life. "Men must be reminded not so much of their rights (either as individuals or classes or groups), but rather of sacrifices as their forefathers made sacrifices, to restrain their appetites and to pursue with all their strength lofty moral and religious ideals. Unless such marked reformation of hearts and minds takes place, and soon, all purely political and economic reorganization will be in vain and society will plunge only deeper into ruin."

The Labor Question

Ever since Pope Leo XIII, in his celebrated encyclical *Rerum Novarum*, deplored the sad conditions under which Labor suffered for so long a time, and demanded reforms in accordance with the moral law, the Catholic Central Union, not swayed by the false tendencies and slogans of the day, has endeavored in season and out of season to disseminate the fundamental truths as set forth in the Papal encyclicals and, in particular, to promote a better understanding of the proper application of these principles to existing conditions.

The 106th convention of the Catholic Central Union, in the face of recent developments and in response particularly to Pope John XXIII's encyclical *Mater et Magistra*, deliberately affirms its belief in the necessity of continuing its efforts along the lines heretofore pursued. We subscribe unreservedly to the words of the late Archbishop John Gregory Murray of St. Paul, spoken from the pulpit on the opening of our 82nd annual convention in Hartford, when he said: "Those

who have studied the encyclical of Pius XI on Reconstructing the Social Order will readily observe, from its very terms, that the Christian renewal of human society can be effected only through a process of education for personal responsibility."

This sense of personal responsibility, to which our Holy Father urges us anew, is what is woefully lacking and accounts for the unrest and discord afflicting nations and peoples. The results are evident in the disheartening class struggle we are witnessing, particularly in the industrial world. Today organized Labor has, to a large extent, come into its own. It is, in fact, one of the strongest factors in the social-economic and political life of the Nation. At the same time, however, more than forty million Americans, representing unorganized, unskilled labor and the so-called white-collar workers, have not shared in the material advantages now enjoyed by organized labor. On the contrary, they have suffered a severe setback because their income has not kept pace with the increased cost of living and, together with the middle classes, they are therefore caught between the grindingstones of "big business" and "big labor," with the result painfully evident on all sides, and with the threat of "big government" adding to the growing misery and grief of the unorganized.

In stating these principles and calling attention to these trends, we find ourselves in full accord not only with the encyclicals of past Popes, but also with the official pronouncements of Pope Pius XII to the *Semaines Sociales* in July, 1947, and also of Pope John XXIII in July, 1960, (to the same *Semaines Sociales*), in which both Pontiffs warn explicitly of the danger existing in many countries that the State, if it is dominated by "excessively socialized" subsidiary groups, including Labor, may inflict as much harm on the public good as it suffers when it is subjected to the pressure of Capital. Thus, as Pope Pius XII expresses it, "when one tries to make of society and of the State a mere conglomeration of workers, one neglects that which constitutes the essence both of the one and the other. One deprives work of its true meaning and of its intimate unifying power. At bottom one organizes, not working men, considered as such, but the gigantic sum of their incomes in salaries and bonuses. The danger that the State may be dominated by economic forces, to the great detriment of the common good, is exactly as grave in this case as in the case when the management of the State is subject to the pressure of Capital."

Pope Pius XII's precautions in this matter were reiterated anew in the messages addressed last year to the *Semaines Sociales* both in France and in Canada by our present Holy Father, when he insisted—even as he does in *Mater et Magistra*—that intermediary groups as trade unions must be "forms of free and spontaneous associations, well oriented and ordered," and membership in them must be "offered to, not imposed upon the free choice of mankind." Such groups, he warns, are intended, even as the State or public authority itself, to aid or complement (not absorb or destroy) the activity of the individual, the family, or the profession.

In other words, the Holy Father is here re-

emphasizing the fact that no class or group can legislate or rule supreme, and that the interdependence of all classes will be jeopardized by the predominance of any one of them, "to the detriment of the common good." As Pope Pius XII stated the case on November 19, 1954: "What is at stake is not only the interests of the working class and its admission to the full exercise of its responsibility, but the future of human society as a whole. The labor movement cannot rest satisfied with material success, a fuller system of safeguards and security, and a greater measure of influence on the economic system. It cannot visualize the future merely in terms of opposition to other social classes or the excessive subordination of the individual to the State. It must seek its objective on the plane of universality, as the encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno* proposed, in a social order where material prosperity is the outcome of the sincere collaboration of all for the common weal and serves as a foundation for the higher cultural values and, above all, for the unbreakable union of hearts and minds."

In a similar vein our present Holy Father, in his encyclical *Mater et Magistra*, calls for honest collaboration between the various social classes, not for the exclusive or even primary aim of material aggrandisement, but rather for the advancement of human freedom and human responsibility through the wider diffusion of the ownership and control of private property. What the Holy Father is calling for is, in fact, "a humane environment" that encourages the working classes to assume not a lesser degree of responsibility and certainly not merely more wages and more leisure time, but rather, in his words, "a greater responsibility" both in the industrial as well as the political community.

Thus, if both Capital and Labor come to recognize their mutual responsibilities in the matter of production and industry, if they honestly and fairly work together and cooperate in the common duties assigned to them by a beneficent Providence, and share the fruits of their common endeavor in an equitable and Christian manner, they will be contributing, as our Holy Father assures them, "to the establishment in the world of an economic and social order marked by justice and humanity, where also the lawful demands of the workers are given expression" and wherein the natural right of private property or private ownership of the goods of the earth will be "the guarantee of the essential freedom of the individual and at the same time an indispensable element in the social order." Only in this way can we hope to avert and to overcome the growing menace of proletarianization and depersonalization—which is the half-way house to totalitarianism and tyranny—in our free society.

The Farm Question

One of the points made by *Mater et Magistra* is especially applicable to our judgment of the Nation's farm policy. One "solution" of the Nation's farm problem, the Pope, himself the son of a farmer, absolutely ruled out: It is that this occupation be left wholly to the brute processes of economic warfare—which means the family farmer would be eliminated.

According to this view, only five or eight per cent

of the Nation would engage in farming, and most of the farms would be in the hands of corporations. Farming as a way of life is eliminated from the picture.

Against such a view Pope John XXIII sets his face. Farming, he makes clear, is a vocation, a way of life. To engage in it is a right of every man who wants to follow it and who is willing to do his part to succeed. He must not be crowded out by inequitable laws which provide only for one part of the citizenry whilst neglecting the rest.

In the work on the farm, the Holy Father declares, "the human personality finds numerous incentives for self-expression, for self-development, for enrichment and for growth even in respect to spiritual values. Therefore it is a work which is conceived and lived both as a vocation and as a mission. It can be considered as an answer to God's call to actuate His providential plan in history. It may also be considered as a noble undertaking to elevate oneself and others and as a contribution to civilization."

Mechanization and the ability to make five grains grow where one grew before, does not mean that the family farmer is superfluous, or that he is less efficient than is the corporation. On the contrary, the family farm is the most efficient unit. The man who owns his own soil is the one who will take the best care of it and who will constitute the best kind of responsible citizen. Being able to rear a large family, he has an economical natural labor force that will do the healthy chores children need to do but of which city life deprives them.

The family farm can and should survive, as the Pope recommends so strongly, not only by wise agrarian laws but also by intelligent cooperation among the farmers themselves. Here again the Holy Father counsels self-help and mutual help rather than looking to the State for assistance. In his words: "When a nation, or part of it, becomes used to expecting everything from abroad and is more inclined to accuse others than to stimulate itself, there is reason to fear for its freedom and for its own life. Indeed, the help and the work of society are necessary and sometimes irreplaceable, but they cannot replace personal initiative, the keen industry of each person who thinks always of bettering himself by drawing on his resources of talent, capability and thrift. It is therefore necessary that you have faith in yourselves. . . . It is necessary to cultivate a deep sense of solidarity and of mutual assistance, passing on to each other both efforts and successes, becoming organized into cooperatives and societies, placing yourselves at the level of the basic demands of today's social and economic life, which is at once union and collaboration for a greater assured value of the fruits of one's own labor." (Address to the 15th National Congress of the Italian Confederation of Independent Farmers, April 20, 1961)

The Holy Father recommends for farmers the world over that they strive to resolve their problems in this order: First, by having faith in God. Second, by having faith in themselves, i.e., in their "own inventive and productive capabilities" and in their own strength as creatures made in the sublime image and likeness of God. Third, by having faith "in society, whose most

outstanding part is made up of your peaceful and orderly ranks." From this kind of society "you must expect those laws and measures that you cannot make available to yourselves by means of your own efforts alone."

Needless to say, the Holy Father's recommendations regarding the farm question, and particularly the order in which he places them, should give light and guidance not only to the farm elements but to all entrepreneurs, members of the middle class, whose plight is today ignored, and whose rights and liberties are jeopardized by inequitable legislation. The emphasis placed on such self-help measures as cooperatives, credit unions, etc., should be especially gratifying to the members of the Catholic Central Union (Verein) which has been consistently advocating precisely this course of action all through the years. We therefore underscore and reaffirm these principles and urge our members to renewed dedication to the program of agrarian recovery as set forth in the Holy Father's present encyclical.

Worthy of serious consideration and study in our present preoccupation with the survival of the family-sized farm and the important small rural community is a plan for developing rural industry, as advocated by the National Catholic Rural Life Conference at its biennial convention in Jefferson City, Mo., last year. A staunch advocate of bringing small industrial plants to our farming communities, Bishop Joseph M. Marling of Jefferson City summed up the advantages of such a plan in these words: "We must see to it that the rural home and the rural family environment acquire more meaning, and we must go forward, despite all obstacles, with the firm conviction that rural industrialization offers golden opportunities to our rural people and, therefore, is of great benefit to our country as a whole."

Aid to the Schools

The American public would do well to check carefully on the propagandists for Federal aid to education, who have been letting their bitterness run away with them ever since the House Rules Committee doomed the Federal aid bills for this session of Congress.

The ardent proponents of Federal aid *only* to public schools conducted a hard campaign in which they successfully clouded the basic issues and tried to slander all who asked for justice to all American school children. They were unwilling, apparently, if not afraid, to consider the basic question as to the need for such massive Federal "aid"; but they left not a stone unturned in getting across the idea of the "unconstitutionality" of aid to children in parochial schools. They were anxious to fan the fires of emotion and bigotry in interpreting aid to parochial school children as "aid to religion." Some were willing to carry on a not-so-subtle attack on the U.S. Catholic Hierarchy, when some of its members pointed out the clear injustice, not to speak of the dangers to freedom, inherent in proposed measures that deliberately excluded more than six million U.S. school children simply because they were not enrolled in public schools.

In all considerations of Federal aid to education, the public should be reminded (1) that a tax dollar col-

lected in a locality and channelled through Washington loses about a third of its value before it returns to any locality; (2) that Federal aid penalizes the populous states which have to contribute much but get back proportionately little; and (3) that Catholics who already are taxed in full for the public school system and in addition maintain their own parochial schools entirely from their own means, would in effect be further penalized by Federal aid to education extended to the public schools but discriminately excluding the parochial schools from such aid.

That there is more involved than the matter of simple justice, and that it is manifestly unfair to accuse American Catholics of having singlehandedly defeated Federal aid to education at this session of Congress, is evident in the following: 1. The need for Federal aid to education has not been proved. 2. Millions of Americans feel that the Federal Government with its \$290 billion debt, with its deficit-operation in 24 out of the last 30 years, with a positive deficit-operation for the fiscal years of 1961 and 1962, with a dollar that has fallen in purchasing value from 100 cents in 1941 to 46 cents in 1961, is not in position, especially in the face of the present international situation, to continue assuming additional functions that historically have been performed by local and state governments. What is to be feared is this: Where are the reserves in the Federal treasury upon which our people can draw in the event that we become internationally involved? 3. Millions of Americans are convinced, and with good reason, that Federal control of education will inevitably follow Federal aid. We say "with good reason," because we have read with dismay the recent 56-page report prepared by the U.S. Office of Education, *A Federal Education Agency for the Future*, which, in the words of a well-known United States Congressman, constitutes "a veritable blueprint for the take-over of every private and parochial school in the United States," and "would deliver the entire American educational system into international control."

This same report, which was apparently of a confidential nature and one that inadvertently was "leaked" to the public through an incautious press, has been cited by the Most Rev. Bishop Topel of Spokane, Wash., as "sufficient proof of the danger of Federal control and Federal regulation of American education." Bishop Topel, after perusing this report, declared publicly that he was "glad the House Rules Committee voted against the Federal Aid to Education bill." His Eminence, James Cardinal McIntyre, Archbishop of Los Angeles, while not directly adverting to the Office of Education's report, has nonetheless sounded the alarm by explaining the close connection between the U.S. Office of Education and the extremely dangerous UNESCO treaty ("Against Discrimination in Education") which is now ready for Senate ratification, compared with which "even the dangers of Federal aid to education fade to a shadow." This treaty, in Cardinal McIntyre's words, is a manifesto for socialized U.S. education and for the destruction of all local control of education. It would place the direction and control of all American education, including the private and parochial schools, first under Federal control and ultimately under UNESCO, which would become the final arbiter of education.

Under the circumstances, the Catholic Central Union strongly urges its members not to be diverted or caught off balance in any further discussion of Federal aid by manifestly unfair and completely diversionary arguments and tactics pertaining to this important question, but rather to bear in mind the basic issue summed up by Representative Edgar Hiestand of Altadena, Calif., who said: "We should never permit the American educational system to become the vehicle of experimentation by educational ideologists." A careful analysis of the writings and statements of vocal and influential spokesmen in the governmental and educational fields indicates a desire on the part of some individuals to utilize the educational system as a means of transforming the economic and social outlook of the United States. . . . Anyone who doubts that the Federal aid to education bills now before Congress would mean eventual Federal control of education should read carefully and analyze for himself what the Office of Education (together with the NEA, UNESCO, etc.) is planning for tomorrow's schools. They openly predict their "need" for new powers on the passage of the multimillion-dollar aid legislation now before us. Representative Hiestand and his fellow committeemen of the House Committee on Education and Labor concludes with these words: "We, the undersigned members of the Committee, believe that the respective States have done and are doing an outstanding job to meet the challenge of the '60's in the field of education. . . . The advocates of Federal aid to education have failed to prove the case of need. . . . We reject, furthermore, the philosophy that there can exist Federal aid to any degree without Federal control. . . ."

In short, the basic issue involved in the matter of Federal aid to education is not simply the question of financing and just apportioning of public funds for ALL American school children. Rather, it is the question of keeping our schools free, and of safeguarding the inalienable right of free choice on the part of every American parent, the right, namely, which was upheld by the U.S. Supreme Court in its decision (*Pierce vs. Sisters*) in 1925, when the Court declared:

"The fundamental theory of liberty upon which all governments in this Union repose excludes any general power of the State to standardize its children by forcing them to accept instruction from public teachers only. The child is not the mere creature of the State; those who nurture him and direct his destiny have the right coupled with the high duty to recognize and prepare him for additional duties."

RESOLUTIONS

Causes for Beatification

Bishop John N. Neumann, C.S.S.R. The Catholic Central Union has several reasons for special continued interest in the beatification cause of the Servant of God, the Venerable John N. Neumann. As Bishop of Philadelphia, this saintly prelate promoted our organization and assisted it by his prudent counsel in the days of its infancy. He was outstanding in his promotion of

the Catholic parochial school—a cause dear to the Central Verein from its very inception. The spiritual and temporal welfare of immigrants of the past century was a primary concern of both the holy Bishop as well as of our organization. Our Catholic people in the United States, most especially members of the Catholic Central Union, should feel a special obligation to aid in the promotion of this cause by their continued prayers. May they derive hope and encouragement from this Servant of God.

Father Adolph Kolping. The Catholic Central Union urges its members to pray also for the beatification of Father Kolping, saintly patron of journeymen (*Gesellen und Handwerker*), champion of workingmen, and pioneer in Christianizing employer-employee relationship. On March 27, 1960, Father Kolping was re-interred in a new casket in the crypt of the Church of the Minorities in Cologne. His cause is making gratifying progress. The Central Union with its instinct of constructive social action has always been strongly interested in Father Kolping and his program. Many Kolping Society units in the United States, in a kindred spirit, have affiliated with the Catholic Central Union. We therefore joyfully note the progress in the cause of Father Kolping's beatification and pray for its speedy and blessed culmination.

Bishop Niels Stensen. In the third place, the members of the Catholic Central Union are urged to pray for the beatification of the holy man of God, Bishop Niels Stensen (also known as Steno), who was and is a universally respected anatomist of the first order, a pioneer in the science of crystallography, the father of modern geology, the founder of paleontology, and an eminent theologian. Of timely interest with respect to Steno is the fact that he was named a Bishop by the saintly Pope Innocent XI who was beatified several years ago by Pope Pius XII, and that he was consecrated by Gregory Cardinal Barbarigo who was canonized in 1960 by Pope John XXIII.

May we hope soon to see these three examples of sanctity endorsed by the Church's decree of beatification.

Our Episcopal Protector

To His Eminence, Joseph Cardinal Ritter, the Most Reverend Archbishop of St. Louis and our illustrious Episcopal Protector, the 106th Annual Convention of the Catholic Central Union of America extends its filial homage and the assurance of ready obedience to his guidance. We offer to him our respectful felicitation on his elevation to the Sacred College of Cardinals of Holy Mother Church, and sense keenly the privilege which is ours to promote the glory of God and the welfare of our fellowmen under the direction of a Prince of the Church.

We are grateful to His Eminence for his abiding interest in our efforts, and we look forward to our 107th convention, which he has graciously invited us to conduct in his own archepiscopal city, and where we

will enjoy his immediate contact and supervision over our work and deliberations.

May God grant Cardinal Ritter length of days and spare him to us as our spiritual leader for many more years.

Mr. and Mrs. Albert J. Sattler

Last year it pleased our Holy Father, Pope John XXIII, now gloriously reigning, to recognize the outstanding merits of Albert J. Sattler, one of our Honorary Presidents and Chairman of our Committee on Social Action, and the sterling qualities of his good wife, by making him a Knight and her a Lady of the Equestrian Order of the Holy Sepulchre.

The members of the Catholic Central Union, assembled at its 106th Annual Convention, rejoice with Sir

Knight and Lady Sattler, and extend to them our heartiest congratulations and felicitations. We pray that God may grant them many happy years to enjoy these richly deserved honors.

The Rt. Rev. Msgr. Victor T. Suren and Our Central Bureau

To the Right Reverend Msgr. Victor T. Suren, for years the Director of our Central Bureau, we extend our heartfelt thanks and profound appreciation for his priestly guidance and assistance these many years. In designating him as the Representative of the Committee on Social Action at the Central Bureau, we are keenly aware of the depth of his knowledge and experience in the field of Catholic Social Action, and the need of his advice.

Disbanding of the St. Eustachius Benevolent Society of Burlington, Wis.

WE REGRET TO ANNOUNCE that President Frank H. Schwaller has informed us that the St. Eustachius Benevolent Society has disbanded. The Society has bequeathed, however, an expression of its loyalty and devotion to the Catholic Central Union by providing a Life Membership on behalf of the St. Eustachius Benevolent Society with the provision that the subscription to *Social Justice Review* for this membership be sent to the Burlington Public Library. They have also forwarded a sum sufficient for a ten-year subscription to *Social Justice Review* which is to be sent to St. Mary's School Library at Burlington. There was in addition a contribution for an In Memoriam Membership for their former spiritual director, Very Rev. Joseph A. Van Treeck. They have also made a very substantial contribution to a burse established at St. Francis Major Seminary, St. Francis, Wisconsin, by their pioneer priest, Father Michael Wisbauer.

Special Microfilming Gift

AS WE WERE COMPLETING items for the July-August issues of *Social Justice Review* we were pleasantly surprised by the receipt of a gift from the Catholic Women's Union of Arkansas in the amount of \$428.55 for the microfilming project of the Central Bureau. We have sent a letter of acknowledgment and earnest thanks to Miss Agatha M. Buergler, secretary and treasurer, who forwarded this donation on behalf of the Catholic Women's Union of Arkansas. Such wonderful gifts are indeed an encouraging vote of confidence in the work being carried forward by the Microfilming Committee of the CCU and the Central Bureau.

C.L.I.U. History 1943-1960

THE C.L.I.U. (The Catholic Life Insurance Union) held its 60th Annual Convention July 21-23, 1961. In recognition of this anniversary year Mr. John P. Pfeiffer, Grand President, had prepared for the July issue of the *Catholic Layman*, the official organ of the

Catholic State League of Texas, an interesting and well written account of the progress of the C.L.I.U. from 1943 through 1960. A history of the C.L.I.U. from its inception to December 31, 1942, appeared in the July 1943 issue of the *Catholic Layman*.

The figures cited by Mr. Pfeiffer in his article concerning these last eighteen years bring out forcibly the sizeable gains that have been made by the C.L.I.U. during this period. The number of members increased from 4,834 on December 31, 1942 to 21,542 on December 31, 1960; insurance in force grew from \$3,252,035 to \$22,031,429 and total assets rose from \$513,030 to \$6,006,441. This fine growth record is a reflection of the sound management and excellent organizational cooperation that has characterized the C.L.I.U. over the years.

Rev. Joseph H. Wels, S.J., now of St. Marys, Kansas and one of the few surviving Jesuits from the old Buffalo Mission group, honored us at the Central Bureau with a brief visit last month. He was in St. Louis to celebrate his 50th priestly sacerdotal jubilee which he commemorated with a Mass at St. Francis Xavier, the College Church, on June 30. Father Wels observed that he was born a few weeks after Konrad Adenauer and that he was the same age as Pius XII. Despite his advanced years Father Wels remains a faithful and active supporter of the Verein.

The Right Reverend Monsignor James A. Byrnes, pastor of the Church of the Annunciation in Minneapolis, celebrated his sacerdotal Golden Jubilee on June 11. An authority in the field of education, Monsignor Byrnes served as superintendent of parochial schools in the St. Paul Archdiocese for many years.

A life-long friend of the old Central Verein, Monsignor Byrnes attended several of our conventions and appeared on our program as a speaker a number of times. The Central Verein's philosophy of education held special appeal for the eloquent Monsignor.